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A history of popery

A

HISTORY OF POPERY;

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

THE ORIGIN, GROWTH, AND PROGRESS

OF

THE PAPAL POWER;

ITS POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN THE EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM, AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED, AN

EXAMINATION OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ROMISH CHURCH IN IRELAND;

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION;

AND

SPECIMENS OF MONKISH LEGENDS.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

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PREFACE.

So many admirable works have been published on the doctrinal differences between the Romish and the Reformed churches, that the theological portion of the controversy appears to be exhausted. Another, and a very important question has not met with similar attention; that is, the system of ecclesiastical organization, which the Romish writers exultingly celebrate as the summit of perfection, and whose excellence they seem to believe ought to atone both for errors of creed and corruption of morals. They assert that Popery, as a political system, has been the great conservative principle in the developement of European civilization, that it has placed itself in opposition to despotism on the one hand, and licentiousness on the other, and that the social and intellectual discipline which it established secured gradual improvement, while it prevented pernicious innovation. This is, in truth, an appeal from matters of opinion to matters of fact, and it is one from which no advocate of the Reformed doctrines need shrink; moreover, it is a form of controversy in which there is little room for misinterpretation or error, for

historical misstatements are easily detected, and the inferences deduced from facts cannot be overstrained without serious injury to the advocate.

In the following pages the Author has carefully traced the history of Popery as an operative system of policy, and has avoided, as much as possible, any allusion to mere opinions, save such as were manifestly devised and propagated to effect political objects. He has been particularly cautious to avoid any statement resting on doubtful or suspicious evidence, and any colouring or comment which might distort the simple facts. The general plan of the work is stated in the Introduction; it is only necessary here to say a few words respecting the last three chapters.

The state of the Romish Church in Ireland possesses peculiar importance at the present moment, when it has assumed a militant attitude, and not obscurely put forward its claims to a legal establishment. It seemed, therefore, desirable to state simply the circumstances in which that church is now placed, especially as Romanism in Ireland differs very materially in its position and its influence from the same system in other countries. In fact, the Irish branch of the papacy may now be more properly called Maynoothism than Romanism. The distinction is little understood in England, but a perusal of the

chapter will, it is hoped, show that it is one of very grave import, both to the present welfare and future prospects of the United Empire.

The History of the Inquisition, as a political engine of the papacy, is discussed very briefly; it would have been easy to accumulate details of cruelty and horror, but the Author deemed it sufficient to show that the Inquisitorial system must, from its very nature, have led to atrocities, whose recital would only harrow the feelings with unnecessary torture.

Some few specimens of the Monkish Legends are added: half of the accusation against the Romish clergy is only made when they are accused of withholding the Scriptures from the people; an equally heavy charge arises from what they substituted for the word of God. It would have been no difficult matter to have extended this chapter to a volume, but the mind soon revolts from absurdity, and, perhaps, the ridicule which assails the absurdities of religion, may be sometimes perverted to a dangerous use.

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PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

POPULAR HISTORY OF POPERY.

INTRODUCTION.

The claims of the popes to spiritual and temporal supremacy, the means they devised to effect that object, their struggle against royal power and national independence, form the most important part of European history, during several centuries. Popery was far more a system of policy than of religion; from its very commencement, discipline was more regarded than doctrines, and external forms regulated with more strictness than creeds. Indeed, there is evidence that many of the most objectionable dogmas adopted by the Romish Church were received into favour on account of their tendency to exalt the ecclesiastical character, and increase the influence of the priesthood. In the progress of civilisation, popery, regarded simply as a political institution, has exercised a very powerful influence, both for good and for evil: it shielded learning, law, and popular rights from the overwhelming progress of the northern barbarians; it prevented the establishment of oriental despotism in Europe; it roused Christendom to resist and check the rapid progress of the Mohammedan

delusion. It triumphed in these contests, not because the system was in itself good, but because it was the lesser evil. In the hour of its prosperity, all that it possessed of good withered; all that it possessed of evil flourished: learning had been encouraged while the Church possessed a monopoly, it was persecuted when knowledge passed the limits of the cloister; constitutional liberty was sanctioned when the pontifts had to contend for power with absolute sovereigns, it became an object of hatred when it was discovered that free institutions began to generate free opinions.

The history of the papal policy, is an emphatical comment on the aphorism, "Honesty is the best policy;" there was falsehood in the title of the Romish bishops to power, but this might have been corrected, if they had sunk the question of right, and rested their claim to presidency over the Christian Church, on a very obvious expediency. Such a course would have forced the rulers to purity of action, the only means by which voluntary obedience can be rendered permanent, and it would have ensured lasting dominion, because the allegiance of the Christian community would be reasonable; in other words, every subject of the Church would feel, and be able to show, the benefits resulting from its dominion.

The popes, on the contrary, claimed as a right, what they had only received as a gift; aware that their usurpation had long been endured, only as a

remedy, or a palliative for greater evils, they refused to admit any examination of their title-deeds, and they crushed opposition by brute force, by bribery, by superstition, by anything rather than reason. The first claim, to spiritual supremacy, was unfounded; the second, to temporal dominion, was monstrous: both were supported by the most pernicious means, and perhaps we may add, that by such alone could they be supported. Nothing was too iniquitous, or too absurd, to be adopted, provided it would lead to the acquisition of wealth and power. "The discipline and doctrine of the Church were altered and corrupted, in order to increase the power of the priesthood, to give it an unlimited sway over the consciences of an ignorant and superstitious people, and consequently an unlimited command of their fortunes."

The theologian discusses popery as a collection of doctrines, but the historian should only regard it as a system of policy; he has not to examine the truth or falsehood of its creeds and articles, except so far as they were influential in determining the form of its government; its relations to a future life are beyond his province, he has simply to examine it as one of the elements in the progress of civilisation, which, like all the rest, has been sometimes an accelerating, and sometimes a disturbing power. It is, however, a philosophic truth, that every institution in the world, which has ever acquired strength, has been founded on opinion; that

the truth of the opinion has ensured its success, and the portion of falsehood mingled with the truth, has been the source of its weakness and its fall. The opinion on which the Christian Church in the sixth and seventh centuries was based, and the opinion which entered into the formation of the social system, was not simply, indeed was scarcely at all, a mere belief in the truths of Christianity; it was rather a profound reverence for ecclesiastical power, amounting almost to a direct desire for theocratic government. There was a struggle for supremacy between submission to temporal and spiritual power in the human mind, long before the controversy was mooted between ambitious popes and despotic emperors.

The history of popery, as an institution, would be incomplete, if it was not preceded by the history of popery as an opinion; otherwise we could not clearly see how opportunities of good became means of evil, how the best and noblest feelings of human nature were perverted to the basest of purposes. It is undeniable, that the pure and simple doctrines of the Gospel were once taught at Rome, and that she was, for a time, an ensample to the Western Churches. It is equally true, that but for the avarice and ambition of her pontiffs, she might still have retained that glorious supremacy. We may go further and say, that the Christian truths which that Church retained amid a multitude of errors, were a blessing of unspeakable magnitude to Europe. Finally, we

may confess, that in the eleventh century, the papacy took the lead in fighting the great battle of freedom and civilisation, against feudal barbarism; but the very light which the Romish Church shed, renders more visible the darkness which it perpetuated, and its merits only bring out in bolder relief the evils it occasioned.

The subject of this work, is the History of Popery, as an institution: such a topic can excite no angry feeling, can provoke no controversy, for it deals not with doctrines, but with facts. In justifying the Reformation, we rest our case on the authority of the Romish Church itself. The opinion on which the papacy was originally founded, had been shaken to its very foundation, long before Martin Luther was born, and a general belief of the necessity for making some great change in the institution, was diffused throughout Europe. The efforts for reform were made within and without the Church,—unfortunately in opposition to each other, —and thus the popes obtained a temporary triumph over both. The Council of Constance bent on reform of one kind, burned John Huss for attempting reform of another kind; the crafty pontiffs profited by the blunder of the bishops. The Councils of Constance and Basle were dissolved without exciting any commotion, and the popes rejoiced in a victory a thousand times worse than defeat. It deferred the conflict, but it made the future struggle more violent and more ruinous to the ancient system.

As the object of this book is not polemical, we trust that the candid Romanist will view with calmness the sentence that history pronounces on the excrescences of his Church, and that the enlightened Protestant will not be displeased to discover some apology for the errors he justly condemns, in the circumstances by which they were produced. The mode in which the subject is examined has at least the recommendation of novelty; we trust that it will not be found destitute of the higher attributes of candour and Christian charity.

Chapter I.

THE ORIGIN OF POPERY.

There is nothing more remarkable in the clerical organization of Christianity at its first institution, than its adaptation to all times and all circumstances. Without entering into any controverted question, we may generally state, that in the infant Church provision was made for self-government on the one hand, and general superintendence on the other; and that, before the Gospel was preached beyond the bounds of Judæa, the two great principles of the independence of national churches, and the authority of a council to ensure the unity of the faith, were fully recognised. Infidels have endeavoured to trace the form of church government to Constantine, though the slightest glance at the history of the preceding age suffices to prove that the ecclesiastical constitution was, long before that emperor's accession, perfected in all its parts. The management belonged to the local priesthood, the government to the bishops, the superintendence of all to the council. This is the general outline of the apostolic model, and we may see in it one mark, at least, of a more than human origin, its capability of unlimited expansion.

The best institutions are open to abuse, and the

Christian clergy were exposed to two different lines of temptation, both, however, tending to the same point, acquisition of power. The emperors of Constantinople endeavoured to make the clergy their instruments in establishing a perfect despotism, while the people looked upon their spiritual guides as their natural protectors against the oppressions of their temporal rulers. Under these circumstances, episcopacy formed a new power in the empire, a power continually extending, because it was soon obvious that a common faith was the only bond which would hold together nations differing in language, institutions, and blood. But this political use of Christianity naturally suggested a gross and dangerous perversion of its first principles: when unity of faith appeared to be of such great value, it was natural that toleration should be refused to any great difference of opinion, and, consequently, persecuting edicts were issued against paganism and heresy. This false step led to a still more dangerous confusion between spiritual and temporal power; when ecclesiastical censures produced civil consequences, the priest was identified with the magistrate, and every hour it became more difficult to separate their functions. In the decline of the empire, also, the temporal power was deservedly hated and despised; a profligate court, a venal magistracy, and a cowardly soldiery, constituted the ordinary materials of the imperial government; and, compared with these, the sacerdotal body, in the worst stage of its degra-

dation, had powerful claims to respect, if not to esteem.

It is of importance to remember that the corruption of the episcopal power was produced by the general corruption of the empire, and, consequently, instead of furnishing an argument against episcopacy as an institution, it may rather be urged as a proof of its excellence. The Church had fallen, indeed, from its original purity, but the State was a mass of unmixed evils; ecclesiastical power was frequently abused, but the temporal authorities scarcely went right by accident; whatever principles of justice and rectitude remained in the world, owed their conservation to the Christian clergy; and to the examples of ecclesiastical traffic there might easily be opposed a longer and more honourable list of instances, in which bishops supported the dignity of their order, by protecting the interests of morality against the craft of courtiers and the vices of sovereigns.

While the discipline of the Church was injured by the clergy having temporal power forced upon them, in the first instance at least, without their solicitation, the doctrines of Christianity were corrupted by a practice arising from the best feelings of our nature. The saints and martyrs who had faced danger, torture, and death, to promulgate Christianity, were remembered with just gratitude, when that religion became triumphant. Their bones were removed from unhonoured graves to tombs more worthy of their virtues, and a generation enjoying

the advantages that their toils and their blood had purchased, testified its thankfulness by rich offerings at their shrines. Thus the avaricious and the designing were tempted to multiply the number of relics, and to exaggerate their importance, until the feeling of thankful reverence was gradually changed into one of religious adoration. These steps in the progress of error were easy, they were likewise profitable; crafty men propagated stories of miracles wrought at the tombs of the martyrs, prayers were soon addressed to persons supposed to be possessed of such supernatural powers, the invocation of saints and the worship of relics naturally led to the introduction of images and pictures, and to the revival of many pagan ceremonies, which had, perhaps, never fallen into complete oblivion.

But an ecclesiastical establishment must not bear the entire blame of the introduction of image-worship into the Christian Church. The desire of possessing representations of those whom we venerate is natural to the human mind, and in an age of ignorance, the symbols of a creed were found useful aids in teaching the multitude the historical facts of Christianity. We all know how pictorial illustrations assist the memory of children, and we find many ecclesiastical writers defending the use of symbols and pictures in churches, who would never have consented to their becoming objects of worship. It must also be observed that the ignorance and credulity of the laity had a far greater share in

leading to a corrupt use of images, than the craft of the clergy; the perversion was in many, perhaps in most, instances, forced upon the priesthood by the flock, and it was still further supported by the monastic bodies, which have, in every age, been the most prominent among the originators and supporters of every superstition.

It is unnecessary to enter here into any investigation of the origin of monastic institutions. They appear to have begun in Egypt, the fruitful parent of religious corruptions, and to have been imitations of Eastern pagan practices. The hermits, monks, and anchorets, professed to resign their property, and all care of temporal affairs, in order to devote themselves exclusively to the contemplation of heavenly things. The sacrifices they made were remunerated by the fame they acquired; it was said that their divine philosophy, acquired by simple meditation, surpassed the highest exertions of science and reason. Their popularity opened to them the road to power, and many of these hermits were violently placed on the episcopal throne; the chief bishoprics began to be filled from the monasteries, and it was soon discovered that the vow of voluntary poverty opened a sure road to wealth and power. The monks owed their influence to delusion, and could only retain it by the same means; they propagated countless stories of the miracles wrought by hermits and ascetics, they added a fresh host to the catalogue of the Christian saints, they extended

everywhere the practice of image-worship, they corrupted the evidence of history, they substituted for the Gospels a host of idle legends, which display the fiction without the graces of poetry.

The monastics were the first who introduced what is called the voluntary principle, into the Christian Church; they were also the first to allow self-ordained instructors to interfere with the duties of the proper pastors. Fanaticism and superstition were the necessary results of these disturbing forces, and by none was the progress of evil more seriously lamented, than by the parochial clergy and the regular bishops.

The charge of idolatry was justly urged against the Christian Church in the beginning of the eighth century, both by the Jews and the Mohammedans. The latter were far the more formidable, for to the arguments of truth they added the weight of victory. There was scarcely an Eastern city which was not fortified by the possession of some miraculous image, supposed to be the palladium of its safety; but in spite of this protection they had fallen, one after the other, into the hands of the Mussulmans. Ashamed of the reproaches they encountered, and convinced practically of the inefficiency of these objects of their devotion, many of the Eastern bishops began to oppose the worship of images, but their exertions were rendered unavailing, by the influence and obstinacy of the monks, until Leo the Isaurian ascended the throne of Constantinople.

A fierce struggle ensued: the Iconoclasts, as the opposers of images were called, made a vigorous effort to restore the purity of the Christian worship, and at the Synod of Constantinople (A.D. 754) three hundred and thirty-eight bishops pronounced and subscribed a unanimous decree, "that all visible symbols of Christ, except in the eucharist, were either blasphemous or heretical; that image-worship was a corruption of Christianity, and a revival of paganism; that all such monuments of idolatry should be broken or erased; and that those who should refuse to give up the objects of their private superstition, should be deemed guilty of disobedience to the authority of the Church and of the emperor."

The enemies of the Iconoclasts have spared no terms of reproach in denouncing the proceedings of this synod, but an impartial view of the authentic relics of its proceedings, which have been preserved, prove that its members displayed more of reason and piety than could have been expected in their age. They seem, indeed, to have felt that they were fighting the battle of episcopacy against monachism, and that the safety of their order was compromised by the assumptions of volunteer instructors; but they made no direct attack upon monastic institutions, and only assailed the abuses which they encouraged.

Six successive emperors supported the cause of reason and religion against idolatry in the Eastern

Church, but the worshippers of images finally won the victory. Still, down to a very late period, there were prelates in the East who resisted the corruption, and the Armenians especially refused to admit images into their churches even in the twelfth century. But the contest was decided much sooner in Western Europe, by the promptitude with which Pope Gregory II. appealed to arms against his sovereign and the Iconoclasts. The ambitious pontiff found efficient support in the national enmity between the Greeks and Latins; he had the art to persuade the Italians that there was some connexion between the new superstition and their hereditary glory; and that, while they supported the worship of images, they were imposing a necessary restraint on Byzantine tyranny. The Lombards embraced the religious pretext to expel the Greeks from Italy, but the pope finding that the conquerors were anxious to impose a yoke upon him more grievous than that which had just been shaken off, invoked the assistance of the Franks. Supported by the arms of Pepin and Charlemagne, the popes maintained the independence of the Roman territories, and were thus raised to the rank of temporal princes. Grateful for the aid they received, the pontiffs decided that it was lawful for the Franks to depose an imbecile sovereign, and substitute in his place one who had proved an able protector of the state, and a generous benefactor to the Church; and in consequence of this sentence, Pepin was solemnly crowned at Paris.

The proper history of popery begins at this union of temporal and spiritual jurisdiction. Three transactions combined to give it form; the revolt against Leo, the establishment of the Roman principality, and the coronation of Pepin. In the first of these, the popes were hurried forward by circumstances to lengths which they had not anticipated; neither the second nor third Gregory wished to destroy completely the power of the Byzantine emperor, and they continued to acknowledge the successors of Constantine as their rulers, until the Lombards subverted the exarchate of Ravenna. But in spite of their moderation, real or affected, they had established to some extent the dangerous precedent, that the heresy of a sovereign justifies a withdrawal of allegiance in his subjects, though they themselves never asserted such a principle, and indeed seem never to have contemplated it.

The independence of the Roman principality, and the establishment of the pope as a temporal sovereign, necessarily resulted from the dread which the Latins, but especially the Romans, had of the Lombards. It was impossible to revert to the sovereigns of Constantinople; independent of the unpopularity produced by their Iconoclast propensities, they wanted the power of retaining the Italian provinces, even if the government had been offered them; there was no choice between the assertion of independence and submission to the Lombards; there were no materials for constructing a national govern-

ment outside the precincts of the Church, and the popes consequently became princes by the pressure of a necessity which was confessed by the unanimous consent of their subjects.

In sanctioning the usurpation of Pepin, Pope Zachary pronounced his opinion more as a statesman than a prelate. There was an obvious expediency for dethroning the weak Childeric, and giving the title of king to him who really exercised the functions of royalty. There was nothing authoritative in the sentence,—it did not command the Franks to dethrone one king and elect another, it merely declared that considerations of public safety justified a people in changing its rulers; it did nothing new, but it ratified what had been done already. But the new dynasty eagerly sought in the proceeding for a confirmation of their defective title; it was Pepin and his friends, rather than the pontiff, who perverted the opinion of a casuist into the sentence of a judge and the oracle of a prophet.

Thus popery, like most human institutions, was founded on opinions in which truth and falsehood were strangely mixed; and it is fortunately easy to separate the parts. In rejecting the Byzantine yoke, the popes asserted a right to resist, but not to depose, sovereigns; in becoming temporal princes, they declared that there could be a union between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, but not that they were necessarily connected, and still less that they were inherited of right by the successors of

St. Peter: finally, in the most equivocal case, the sanction of Pepin's election, the pope put forward the expediency of having an intelligent umpire to decide in cases of a dispute, not that he was necessarily that umpire, and still less that he had authority to act as supreme judge in a court of appeal. It is sufficiently obvious, however, that the truths are easily capable of being perverted into the falsehoods, and that there were strong temptations to the change. Ere a generation had passed away, the truths sunk into oblivion, and the falsehoods were everywhere proclaimed as the true foundations of popery.

Chapter II.

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF POPERY AS A POLITICAL SYSTEM.

The Iconoclast controversy, and the mutual obligations of the popes and the Carlovingian family, form the important links between ancient and modern history, as well as between civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Pepin recognised the pope's arbitration as an authoritative act, though, as we have seen, it was merely an opinion founded on expediency, and furthermore might have been justified on constitutional grounds, for the monarchy of the Franks was originally elective, and the principle of hereditary right was an innovation gradually introduced by the successors of Clovis. But Pepin naturally felt that he would weaken the title of his sons to the succession, if he rested his claims on popular election; and he was therefore anxious to invest his dynasty with the mysterious sanction of religion. It is doubtful whether the Roman pontiffs foresaw the importance of the measures they adopted, but prudence and prophecy united could scarcely have suggested better means for extending the papal power. They revived the Jewish ceremonial of anointing kings: and Pepin, as well as his successors, regarded this ceremony as an assertion of a divine right to the crown;

while the popes represented it, not as a simple recognition, but almost an appointment of the sovereign. Both the kings and the pontiffs shared in a profitable fraud, which gave security to the one, and power to the other; the Frank nobles murmured, without being able to discover the exact nature of the principles which destroyed for the future their ancient rights of election, though these principles were very intelligibly expressed by a new effort of Pope Stephen to gratify the new dynasty. Pressed by his enemies in Italy, Stephen III. sought Pepin's court to obtain aid, and gratified the monarch by solemnly crowning both his sons. In Pepin's case, the coronation had followed the election, and might have been regarded as a confirmation of the people's choice; but, in the second instance, it was a substitute for election; and thus the popular rights were abolished almost at the moment that they had been most strongly asserted. Royalty and popery gained, but not in equal proportions; for though the principles of divine right and inheritance by descent were established for kings, the higher power of pronouncing on these rights was reserved for the pontiffs.

The Carlovingians, grateful for the security given to their title, enlarged the papal dominions by territories wrested from the Lombard kingdom,—the Greek exarchate. To secure these acquisitions, the pontiffs had recourse to a more daring fraud than any they had yet perpetrated; a forged deed was produced, purporting to be a donation from the first

Christian emperor, Constantine, to the successors of St. Peter, of the sovereignty over Rome, Italy, and the western provinces. Thus the gift of the French monarch was made to appear the restitution of ancient possessions, and the temporal power of the popes, while yet in its infancy, was invested with the sanction of remote antiquity. It is useless to expose the falsehood of this audacious forgery, which is now condemned by even the most bigoted writers of the Romish church; but in its day it was universally received as valid, and was long regarded as the legal instrument by which the papal power was established.

Adrian I. was the pontiff who first combined the elements of the papacy into a system. He was startled at the very outset by a difficulty which seemed to threaten the foundation of his power. The Greek empress, Irene, who administered the government during the reign of her son Constantine, the Porphyrogennete, re-established the worship of images, and persecuted the Iconoclasts. Adrian, however, was naturally reluctant to return under the Byzantine yoke, and were he even so inclined, he would probably have been prevented by the Romans; the popes had tasted the pleasures of sovereignty, and the people of freedom; neither, therefore, would sacrifice such advantages to the Greeks. A closer union was made with the Franks, though Charles and his bishops had stigmatized the worship of images, and declared that they should be

regarded only as objects of reverence. But the pope foresaw that the use of images would soon lead to their adoration, and he courted Charlemagne as a friend and protector.

Leo III., who succeeded Adrian, sent to Charlemagne the standard of Rome, requesting him to send delegates to receive the allegiance of the Romans. From the latter circumstance, it has been rather hastily inferred that the popes acknowledged the sovereignty of Charles; but, in truth, the relations between the pontiffs and the Frank monarchs were purposely left indefinite; any attempt to state them would have shown that the claims of both were irreconcileable, but their mutual interests required that they should combine, and each avoided explanations that might provoke a contest.

Leo soon experienced the benefits of his moderation; driven from Rome by the relatives of the late pope, he sought refuge among the Franks; and Charlemagne not only sent him back with a powerful escort to his capital, but went thither in person to do him justice. Leo was permitted to purge himself by oath of the crimes laid to his charge, and, in gratitude for his acquittal, he solemnly crowned Charles, Emperor of the West. The ceremony was performed on the festival of Christmas, in the last year of the eighth century; and the pontiff who had so recently stood before his sovereign as a criminal making his defence, now appeared as his

superior, conferring on him the highest earthly title by the authority of heaven.

There was obvious danger to papal ambition in the establishment of an empire; the successors of the Cæsars must of necessity have been formidable rivals to the successors of St. Peter; but there were many important advantages to be gained, which did not escape the notice of the crafty pontiffs. The secure enjoyment of their temporal dominions, as the most honourable species of fief or benefice, was obviously an immediate result, but there was a remote one of much greater importance, the change of the precedence, universally conceded to the Romish see, into an acknowledgement of its supremacy.

It is not easy to discover at what time the papacy directly fixed its attention upon destroying the independence of national churches, but assuredly the period was not very remote from that which we have been considering. The contests between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, like those of more modern times, between the archbishops of York and Canterbury, were struggles for dignity rather than power. The primacy which Boniface III. assumed, by taking the title of universal bishop, was nothing more than presidency: this was a good foundation for a future claim to supremacy, but there is no proof that any such claim was contemplated by Boniface, and every probability is against the supposition.

But when the independence of nations was compromised, by the establishment of an empire, it was very natural that the independence of national churches should also be endangered. In the age of Charlemagne, law, order, and intelligence, had no sure support but religion; the popular opinion identified with ecclesiastical influence all that society enjoyed or hoped for; it was the bond that held the discordant parts of the empire together, and the emperor joined with the pope in giving it strength and unity.

The death of Charlemagne relieved the pontiffs from the pressure of imperial power; his successor, Louis the Debonnaire, had not strength of mind sufficient to support the weight of empire, while the popes stood ready to grasp the reins of power as they slipped from his hands; they began to exercise their pontifical functions immediately after their election, without waiting for the confirmation of their power, and Louis, embarrassed by nearer dangers, was unable to punish the usurpation. Louis divided his empire among his sons; a fatal error, for in their contests for supremacy the sovereign authority was sacrificed to the feudal lords, and to the spiritual power.

It must, however, be confessed, that the usurpations of the Church, during the sanguinary wars between the successors of Charlemagne, were almost rendered necessary by the circumstances of the time.

The competitors for empire were weak and cruel, the profligacy of the feudal lords was only equalled by their ignorance, and the Church alone preserved the semblance of justice. The clergy of all ranks profited by the popular opinion in their favour; usurpation followed usurpation without provoking opposition: Charles the Bald acknowledged the right of the bishops to depose him, and the bishops of his council bound themselves by a canon to remain united, "for the correction of kings, the nobility, and the people." This gross assumption was applauded by the laity, at once ignorant, wicked, and devout: it was felt by all parties, that supreme power should exist somewhere; kings, nobles, and commons equally felt the want, and, in a greater or less degree, the consciousness that it could not safely be intrusted to themselves. Nicholas I., more bold than any of his predecessors, constituted himself the judge of bishops and kings; he deposed the archbishop of Ravenna for asserting his independence, and would not permit him to be restored until he acknowledged himself a vassal of the holy see; he even cited the king of Lorraine to appear before his tribunal (A.D. 860). Lothaire, king of Lorraine, had divorced his first wife, Theutberga, on a charge of adultery, and, by the advice of his council, chosen a beautiful young lady, called Valdrade, for his second queen. The pope anulled the second marriage, and compelled Lothaire to take back his first wife;

he persevered in enforcing his edict, even after Theutberga herself had submitted to the pretensions of her rival.

Adrian II. was chosen successor to Nicholas; the imperial ambassadors were excluded from the election, and their remonstrances treated with neglect. He interfered on the side of justice, to secure the inheritance of Lorraine for the emperor Louis II., but the pontiff was foiled by the firmness of Charles the Bald, and his claims to decide between the competitors refuted by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims. Adrian resolved to conciliate the prince whom he could not subdue, and won Charles to submission by promising him the succession to the empire. This project was executed by Adrian's successor, John VIII.; finding that the king of France was determined to have the title of emperor on any terms, he made him stipulate to acknowledge the independence of Rome and its territory, and to confess that he only held the empire by the gift of the pope.

In an assembly, held at Pavia (A. D. 878), Charles was recognised by the Italian prelates and nobles, in the following memorable words: "Since the Divine favour, through the merits of the holy apostles and of their vicar Pope John, has raised you to the empire, according to the judgment of the Holy Ghost, we elect you unanimously for our protector and lord." The pontiff by no means suffered Charles to forget that the empire was his gift: when the

Saracens invaded Italy, he wrote to Charles, reproaching him for his delay in affording succour, and desiring him "to remember the hand that had given him the empire, lest, if driven to despair, we should change our opinion."

But while the popes were thus triumphant over the emperors, they were severely harassed by the turbulent feudal lords, who had taken advantage of the weakness of their sovereign, to establish a virtual independence. They interfered in the pontifical elections, and generally controlled them; they insulted, imprisoned, and murdered the pontiffs; while the claims of the apostolic see to complete supremacy were tacitly acknowledged throughout Europe, it was itself held in disgraceful servitude by petty tyrants. Two infamous prostitutes, by their influence with the profligate nobles, procured the throne of St. Peter for their paramours, and their illegitimate children; and the disorders of the Church finally attained such a height, that the imperial power was once more raised above the papal, and Pope John XII. deposed by the Emperor Otho.

The vices of this dark period are not justly attributable to popery; they were the result of feudalism, and so far as the papal system was able to exert any influence, it was employed in counteracting these evils. The great error of the pontiffs was, that they did not arrange a judicious plan for elections; they left their power thus exposed to

the disturbances of a disputed succession which had already proved fatal to the imperial power; had the arrangements been such as to prevent any lay interference, ecclesiastical influence would have gone on increasing without interruption. But the vice and violence of the Roman nobles rendered popery, as a system, for a time inoperative, and prevented a Nicholas from anticipating a Hildebrand.

Chapter III.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY BETWEEN THE POPES AND EMPERORS.

Otho, deservedly called the Great, was the third emperor of Germany, elected by the suffrages of the German princes. His high character pointed him out to Pope John XII, as a proper protector for the Church and the republic, against the fierce nobles of Lombardy, but especially against Berengarius, who claimed the kingdom of Italy. Otho crossed the Alps, tranquillized Italy, and was rewarded with the iron crown of Lombardy, and the revived title of Emperor of the West. But both the pope and the Romans were jealous of their benefactor, and even during the ceremony of his coronation, Otho had to take precautions against the daggers of assassins. John soon found that the German emperor was not content with an empty title; enraged at the progress of the imperial authority, he entered into a secret compact with Adelbert, the son of his ancient enemy, to expel foreigners from Italy, and, at the same time, he invited the Hungarians to invade Germany. Otho promptly returned to Italy, and having entered Rome, he compelled the nobles and people to renew their oath of allegiance. He then

summoned a council for the trial of Pope John, whose immoralities were flagrant and notorious. The charges against the pontiff, contained a dreadful catalogue of crimes, but we cannot vouch for the integrity of the witnesses, or the impartiality of the court. There is, however, no doubt, that John was a licentious profligate, whose vices not only disgraced his station, but were shocking to humanity. The pope refusing to appear before the tribunal, was condemned as contumacious, after having been twice summoned in vain. Leo VIII. was elected to the papacy, in the room of John, and he not only took an oath of obedience and fidelity to the emperor, but issued a bull, ordaining that Otho and his successors should have a right of appointing the popes, and investing bishops and archbishops; and that none should dare to consecrate a bishop, without the permission of the emperor.

This fatal blow to popery was unpopular with the bishops; they complained that Leo had subverted, at one blow, the structure which his predecessors had toiled to raise during two centuries. When John, after the emperor's departure returned to Rome, he easily procured the deposition of Leo, and the acknowledgement of his own claims. The restored pope began to exercise great cruelties against his opponents; but in the midst of his career, he was assassinated by a young nobleman, whom he had rivalled in the affections of his mistress. Such horror had this pontiff's crimes inspired, that many

of the Romans believed that Satan in proper person had struck the fatal blow which sent him to his dread account, "with all his imperfections on his head."

The adherents of John still refused to acknowledge Leo, and without consulting the emperor, they chose Benedict to succeed the murdered pontiff. But the return of Otho threw them into confusion: Benedict hastily tendered his submission to Leo, by whom he was banished; and the Roman nobility and clergy promised the emperor, that they would never confer the papal dignity on any but a native of Germany. On the death of Leo, the electors, obedient to their promise, chose John XIII. by the emperor's permission. The pope was too grateful to his sovereign, to resist the encroachments of the imperial power on the city and the Church: the turbulent Romans revolted and threw John into prison, but Otho soon came to suppress these disturbances. He restored John, and severely punished the authors of the revolt. Thus the political system of popery seemed utterly ruined, the pontiff ruled the Roman states as a lieutenant instead of a prince, and, far from being regarded as the supreme umpire of monarchs, he was reduced to the condition of a subject.

We have seen that the papacy owed its first success to the national hatred between the Latins and the Byzantines; strength for a new struggle to retrieve its fortunes was derived from the animosity

with which the Germans were regarded by the Italians. The death of Otho (A. D. 973) was the signal for new convulsions in Italy; the feudal lords aimed at independence, the cities tried to establish freedom; Pope John tried to uphold the imperial cause, but he was arrested by Cincius, the head of the popular party, and strangled in prison. Cincius and his faction chose Boniface VII. for their spiritual head; the aristocratic party, headed by the counts of Tuscany, elected Benedict VII.; the former was soon driven from the capital; he sought shelter at Constantinople, where he strenuously urged the Greek emperors to invade Italy. These princes took his advice, and, uniting themselves with the Saracens, subdued Apulia and Calabria. Otho II. vanquished these enemies; but when he returned to Germany, Boniface came back to Italy, made himself master of Rome, and threw his rival into a prison, where he was starved to death. Four months afterwards, the murderer died suddenly, and was succeeded by John XV.

So low had the papacy now sunk, that the entire of John's reign was occupied by a struggle for the government of the city of Rome. Crescentius, an ambitious noble, eager to establish his own despotism under the name of freedom, persuaded the citizens to reject the authority both of the pope and the emperor. Otho II. crushed the revolt, and so firmly established the imperial authority, that he was enabled to nominate one of his creatures suc-

cessor to John; and the cardinals received as their head Bruno, a Saxon stranger, who took the title of Gregory V.*

Crescentius had little trouble in exciting a new insurrection; but the Italians were too feeble to contend with the entire strength of the empire, they were defeated with ruinous loss, their leader was captured and beheaded. On the death of Gregory, Otho nominated Gerbert to the papal dignity, and he was installed under the title of Sylvester II. Although he did not foresee the consequences, Sylvester may be regarded as the first who made any progress in restoring the power of popery. His personal virtues removed the scandal which had long weakened the influence of the see, his patronage of learning restored to the Church its superiority in intelligence, and, through his intimacy with the emperor, he obtained a renewal of the temporal grants which Charlemagne and Pepin had made to his predecessors. The popes now began to support the imperial cause against the turbulent nobles of Italy; in return they were aided by the emperors in their struggles with the Roman princes and citizens; but by this alliance the pontiffs were the principal gainers, for the emperor's attention was distracted by various objects, while the popes were always on

* Every pope changes his name on his accession, in imitation of St. Peter, whom Our Lord called Cephas, or Peter, instead of Simon.

the spot to secure the fruit of every victory. So rapidly had their power been retrieved, that when Benedict VIII. crowned the Emperor Henry, to whom he owed the preservation of his dignity, he demanded of his benefactor, before he entered the church, "Will you observe your fidelity to me and my successors in everything?" and the emperor had the weakness to answer in the affirmative.

But the factions of the Roman nobles and citizens prevented the papal power from being consolidated; three rival popes, each remarkable for his scandalous life, shared the revenues of the Church between them (A. D. 1045); they were finally persuaded to resign by John Gratian, a priest of piety and learning, and he was elected to the vacant throne by the title of Gregory VI. The Emperor Henry procured the deposition of Gregory, and the election of Clement II.

The most remarkable of the deposed popes was Benedict IX.; he was the son of a Tusculan count, and was raised to the chair of St. Peter at the early age of ten years. His vices induced the Romans to raise rivals against him; but, supported by the aristocratic faction, he would probably have held his place, had he not been bribed to resign in favour of Gregory. The agent in this transaction was Hildebrand, the son of humble parents, who had raised himself by the force of his abilities and his reputation for piety to high rank in the Church, and

commanding influence in the state. Gregory was undoubtedly a better ruler than his immediate predecessors; he expelled the robbers and freebooters who infested the roads around Rome; he opened a secure passage for the pilgrims who wished to visit the shrine of St. Peter, and he vigorously exerted himself to reform the administration of justice. It was imprudent in the Emperor Henry to depose such a man at the instigation of the enemies of order; Clement II. felt great aversion to the proceeding, and very reluctantly consented to his own elevation.

Gregory and Hildebrand, to the great regret of the Italian people, and especially the citizens of Rome, were driven into exile; they retired to the celebrated monastery of Clugni, where Gregory died of vexation, leaving Hildebrand the heir of his wealth and his resentment. Clement was poisoned by an emissary of Benedict nine months after his consecration; and his successor, Damasus II., shared the same fate. When the news reached Hildebrand, he immediately departed for the imperial court, hoping to have some influence in the nomination of the next pope, but on the road he learned that the Diet at Worms, directed by the emperor, had elected Bruno, Bishop of Toul, under the title of Leo IX.

We have now reached an important crisis in the struggle between the papal and the imperial power;

the latter had touched the highest point of its greatness, and was destined to fall by the dauntless energies of one man, Hildebrand, the humble monk of Soano by birth, the controller of the destiny of nations by talent and position.

Chapter IV.

REVIVAL OF THE PAPAL POWER.

From A. D. 1048 to A. D. 1070.

We have seen that papal usurpation began by an attack on the power of the Greek empire, and prevailed over the Byzantine court, because it was supported by the public opinion of Western Europe. To secure its acquisitions, the papacy entered into alliance with the Carlovingian dynasty on terms favourable to both; but in the struggle that followed the partition of Charlemagne's empire, it was shorn of its strength, for the growth of its greatness was too rapid to be permanent. When the nobles of Italy had attained the rank of petty princes, the territorial possessions of the Church naturally excited their cupidity, and when the German emperors had extended their sway beyond the Alps, they felt that a controlling influence in the papal elections was necessary to the permanence of their power. Had both combined, the papacy would have been annihilated, the pope would have been a mere vassal of the emperor, and his temporal dominions would have been rent in sunder by rival princes. But even when the papacy was enslaved, either to aristocratic factions, or to despotic autocrats, it was secretly collecting materials for its liberation and future triumph. It was generating an opinion which gave

popery, as an institution, greater strength and surer permanence than it possessed in the days of its former prosperity.

It was under the pressure of the feudal system that the organization of popery was completed and defined; opposed both to princes and emperors, it was thrown for support entirely on the people. By its numerous gradations of rank, the Church of the middle ages linked itself with every class of the community: its bishops were the companions of princes; its priests claimed reverence in the baronial hall; its preaching friars and monks brought consolation to the cottage of the suffering peasant. Great as were the vices of individuals, the organization of the clerical body continued to be respectable, and this was an immense advantage when every other portion of civilized society was a mass of confusion. When the distinction of caste was rigidly established in all the political forms of social life, the Church scarcely knew any aristocracy but that of talent; once received into holy orders, the serf lost all traces of his bondage; he was not merely raised to an equality with his former lord, but he could aspire to dignities which threw those of temporal princes into the shade. The clerical was thus identified with the popular cause, and the bulk of the laity not only received the claims of the priesthood, but gave them additional extension.

Hildebrand was the first who perceived the tendency and the strength of this current, and he pro-

bably was sincere in his belief that the Church supplied the only means by which the regeneration of Europe could be effected. Feudalism, the worst of foes to social order, stood opposed to the sovereignty of the monarch and the liberty of the subject; the emperors were too weak, the people too ignorant, to struggle against it; and the wise arrangements of Providence, by which good has been so frequently wrought out of evil, made the revival of popery the instrument by which Europe was rescued from barbarism. Hildebrand's personal character is really a matter of no importance; his measures in the present age would justly subject him to the charge of extravagant ambition and blundering tyranny; but in the eleventh century, every one of these measures was necessary to counteract some evil principle, and milder or more justifiable means would not have been adequate to the occasion. We must not pass sentence on an institution without examining the opinion on which it is founded; and before we judge of the opinion, we must estimate the circumstances by which it was engendered. The disorganized state of Europe produced a strong opinion that some power for appeal and protection should be constituted,—a power with intelligence to guide its decisions, and sanctity to enforce respect for them: the revived papacy seemed an institution suited to these conditions, and under the circumstances it was capable of being rendered the great instrument for reforming civil society.

Hildebrand's own writings prove that his design was to render the papacy such an institution as we have described; it was indeed a beautiful theory to base power upon intelligence, and concentrate both in the Church. But Hildebrand did not make a discovery which too often has eluded reformers and legislators, that his plan was suited only to peculiar circumstances, that it was only applicable to a period when state power was corrupt and popular intelligence restricted, and that to give it permanence was to extend its duration beyond the period of its utility, and consequently prepare the way for its becoming just as mischievous as the evils it had been devised to counteract.

This general view of the state of society will enable us to form a better judgment of the struggle in which Hildebrand engaged than could be done if we confined ourselves to a simple narrative; we shall now proceed to relate the course adopted by the enterprising monk to exalt the spiritual power.

Leo IX., on whom the emperor, as we have said, conferred the papacy, was a prelate of virtuous principles and strict integrity, but he was a man infirm of purpose, and weak in understanding. Hildebrand was well aware of the advantages that might be derived from the pope's character, and in his first nterview he gained such an ascendency over Leo's mind, that thenceforth the pope was a passive instrument in the hands of his adviser. The pontiff naturally dreaded that the circumstance of his

having been nominated by the emperor, and elected by a German Diet, would render him unpopular in Italy; but Hildebrand smoothed the way, and by his personal influence secured Leo a favourable reception at Rome. This service was rewarded by an accumulation of dignities; Hildebrand soon united in his person the titles and offices of cardinal, sub-deacon, abbot of St. Paul, and keeper of the altar and treasury of St. Peter. The clergy and people of Rome applauded these proceedings, because the favourite had induced Leo to gratify the national vanity, by submitting to the form of a new election immediately after his arrival in the city.

Leo made unremitting exertions to reform the clergy and the monastic orders; but, in the fifth year of his reign, he marched against the Normans, who were ravaging the south of Italy, and was unfortunately taken prisoner. Though the conquerors showed every respect to their captive, the misfortune weighed heavily on his proud spirit; and his grief was aggravated by the reproaches of some of his clergy, who condemned him for desecrating his holy office by appearing in arms. He died of a broken heart soon after his liberation, and the deposed Benedict IX. seized the opportunity of re-ascending the papal throne.

Hildebrand was opposed to the imperial influence, but he hated more intensely the nearer and more dangerous power of the Italian nobles, and therefore he became an active and energetic opponent of their

creature, Benedict. The monastic orders supported one whom they justly regarded as the pride and ornament of their body, and by their means Hildebrand gained such a commanding influence over the Roman people, that he could truly represent himself to the emperor as their delegate in choosing a new pope. Henry nominated a German bishop to the dignity, who took the name of Victor II., and the cardinal-monk hoped to exercise the same authority in the new reign that he had possessed under Leo IX. The new pope, however, soon became weary of having "a viceroy over him;" he sent his ambitious minister into France with the title of legate, under the honourable pretext of correcting the abuses that had crept into the Gallican Church. Hildebrand performed his task with more rigour than it would have been prudent for a less popular minister to display; he excommunicated several immoral priests and bishops, and even sentenced some monks to death for a breach of their monastic vows. After a year's absence he returned to Rome more powerful than ever, and Victor was content to receive him as his chief adviser and director.

In the mean time the Emperor Henry died, and was succeeded by his son of the same name, who was yet an infant. Hildebrand was too sagacious not to discover the advantage with which the papal power would struggle against the imperial during a minority, and he secretly prepared for the contest.

The death of Victor, speedily followed by that of his successor, Stephen IX., delayed, but did not alter, the cardinal-monk's intentions, for circumstances compelled him to appear as an advocate of the imperial authority.

On the death of Stephen, the aristocratic faction, presuming on the minority of the emperor, rushed at night, with a body of armed men, into the Vatican church, where they declared John, Bishop of Velitri, one of their body, pope, with the title of Benedict X. Hildebrand received this intelligence as he returned from Germany; it was brought to him by the terrified cardinals and bishops who had fled from Rome; he assembled the fugitives at Sienna, and prevailed upom them to elect the Bishop of Florence, who took the name of Nicholas II. The emperor's sanction was easily procured for the latter election, and the imperial court was persuaded that it was supporting its own interests when it placed Nicholas upon the papal throne.

Circumstances soon occurred to prove that the Germans had been deluded; Nicholas assembled a council at Rome, in which it was decreed that the cardinals alone should in future have a voice in the election of the pope; but to avoid any open breach with the emperor, a clause was added, reserving to him all due honour and respect. A less equivocal proceeding soon followed; the Normans, who had settled in the south of Italy, had become more amenable to the Church than they had been in the

days of Leo. The lust of conquest was abated, and they were now anxious to obtain some security for their possessions; they therefore tendered their alliance and feudal allegiance to the pope, on condition of his confirming their titles. By the advice of Hildebrand, Nicholas gave to Richard Guiscard the principality of Capua, and granted Robert Guiscard the title of duke, with the investiture of all the lands he had conquered, or should conquer, in Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria.

The pope readily granted that to which he had no right, a proceeding that might have cost him dear, if the old emperor had survived: the Normans, in return, lent their aid to punish the enemies of Nicholas in the Roman territory. The lands of the turbulent aristocracy were ravaged with unsparing cruelty, and it is to the desolation thus produced, that the depopulation of the country round Rome, even at the present day, must be attributed.

While Hildebrand was maturing his plans for re-establishing the papacy, many circumstances occurred, which proved the expediency of establishing a central controlling power in the Church. The ecclesiastics of Milan had been, for nearly two hundred years, independent of the Holy See, and their church had become the scandal of Italy. Benefices were openly sold, immoralities flagrantly practised, until at length a respectable portion of the laity requested the interference of the pope. Peter Damian was sent as a legate to Milan, but the

populace, incited by the priests, raised a formidable insurrection, and threatened to murder him for menacing their independence. Peter, undismayed, ascended a pulpit in one of their principal churches, and made such an effective discourse, that the rioters, not only submitted, but encouraged him to pursue his task of investigation. The inquiry proved, that nearly every priest in Milan had purchased his preferment, and lived with a concubine. The archbishop, after an obstinate resistance, was brought to confess, that he had transgressed the canons; but he was pardoned by the legate, on condition of swearing, with his clergy, to observe the ecclesiastical rules for the future. Scarcely, however had the legate departed, when the clergy assailed the archbishop for betraying the rights of their church, and compelled him to retract the conditions to which he had so recently sworn. The troubles in Milan burst out afresh, and the profligacy of the clergy seemed to have been increased by the temporary interruption.

Ere Nicholas could make any effort to terminate these disorders, he was seized by a mortal disease; his death made a great change in the political aspect of Italy, for the Church party, encouraged by Hildebrand, set both the emperor and the aristocracy at defiance. The cardinals and bishops, without waiting for the imperial sanction, conferred the papacy on Anselmo, Bishop of Lucca, who took the title of Alexander II.; on the other hand, the

Counts of Tuscany, hoping to recover the lands that had been wrested from them by the Normans, declared that they would support the emperor's right of nomination. The Roman nobles had hitherto owed their partial success to their having supported a national prelate; they soon found that their strength was gone, when they gave their aid to a foreign competitor. Supported by a German and Lombard army, Cadislaus, who had been chosen by the emperor, appeared before the gates of Rome, but the citizens refused him admission. At first, the imperialists gained some advantages, but the arrival of Duke Godfrey, with an auxiliary force of Normans, changed the fortunes of the war, and Cadislaus was compelled to make a hasty retreat. He sought refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo, where he was closely besieged. Soon afterwards, the young emperor, having been removed by a stratagem from the protection of his mother, was placed under the control of the Archbishops of Bremen and Cologne; at their instigation he recognised Alexander as the legitimate pope, and Cadislaus, finding himself abandoned by his principal protector, fled in disguise from the Castle of St. Angelo to his native diocese, where he died in obscurity.

During the brief reign of Alexander, Hildebrand was the real governor of the Church. As soon as the war with Cadislaus was ended, he directed his attention to the affairs of Milan, excommunicating the perjured archbishop, and ordering that all the

priests who were married, or who lived in concubinage, should be ejected from their cures. Supported by the populace and a large body of the nobles, the papal legate not only enforced this decree, but obtained from the clergy and people a solemn oath, that, for the future, they would hold no election of a bishop valid, unless it was confirmed by the pope.

The excommunicated archbishop resigned his see, and sent the insignia of his office, the pastoral rod and ring, to the emperor. Godfrey, a deacon of Milan, was appointed to supply the vacancy, by the imperial council; but the citizens of Milan refused to receive him, and chose for their archbishop, Atto, a nominee of the pope. A fierce war raged between the rival prelates, and Alexander, indignant at the support that Godfrey received from the emperor, summoned that prince to appear before his tribunal, on a charge of simony, and granting investitures without the approbation of the see of Rome.

Neither the ambition nor the cares of Pope Alexander, or rather, his instigator Hildebrand, were confined to the Italian peninsula. By means of the popularity which the pretensions of the mendicant friars had given their order throughout Europe, he established an interest for himself in every part of Christendom. Faithful agents kept a strict watch over the proceedings of the Emperor Henry, legates were sent to Denmark and Norway, the allegiance of the King of Bohemia was secured

by permission to wear the mitre, and the virtual independence of the Anglo-Saxon Church was destroyed by the Norman conquest, to the success of which, the interference of the pope and of Hildebrand materially contributed.

The pretexts of the pontiffs are characteristic of the superstitions of the age. Harold, the last Saxon monarch of England, had, during an accidental visit to Normandy, been forced to swear that he would favour the succession of William, whose claims were founded on a real or pretended promise of Edward the Confessor. This compulsory oath, it seems, would not have been considered binding, had not Harold unwittingly sworn it on a chest of relics, collected from all the surrounding churches. When, therefore, on the death of Edward, he accepted the crown, proffered to him by the free voice of the Anglo-Saxons, he was regarded, not as a patriot resolved to maintain his country's independence, but as a perjured wretch who had trampled on the most solemn obligations. Hildebrand eagerly seized this opportunity of establishing the papal supremacy over a national church, whose claims to independence had long given offence at Rome. At his instigation, the claims of the Norman duke to the English crown were solemnly recognised by the papal council; a bull containing this decision was sent to William, together with a consecrated standard, and a ring, said to contain a hair from the head of St. Peter, enclosed in a diamond of considerable

value. But we learn from a letter, subsequently addressed by Hildebrand to the Conqueror, that there were some in the conclave who opposed this iniquitous interference with the rights of nations, and severely reproached the cardinal-monk, for advocating the cause of a tyrannical usurper.

But Hildebrand did not extend to the Normans in Italy the same favour that he showed to their brethren in England. Aided by the forces of the Countess Matilda, a devoted adherent of the Church, and heiress to a considerable territory, he forced them to resign the districts they had wrested from the Holy See. Anxious to retain this sovereignty, Hildebrand violently opposed a marriage between the Countess and Godfrey Gobbo, a son whom her step-father had by a former wife, before his marriage with her mother. Such a union, indeed, was warranted by the strict letter of the canonical degrees, but still it was, in some degree, revolting to the feelings. Gobbo was excommunicated, but Hildebrand secretly hinted, that he might be reconciled to the Church, on making proper submissions.

But all these political struggles were cast into the shade, by the daring citation of the Emperor Henry: every one regarded it as a declaration of war between the spiritual and temporal authorities, and it must have been obvious to all, that the death of Alexander II. only delayed the contest. More had been done during the reign of this pope to extend the authority of the papacy, than in any

former pontificate; but this must not be attributed either to the faults or to the merits of Alexander, who was a mere instrument in the hands of his ambitious minister. The monks, to raise Hildebrand's fame, published tales of the numerous miracles he wrought, which were greedily received by the superstitious populace, and tended greatly to extend his influence: we have taken no notice of these legends; a greater miracle than any they record, is, that rational beings should be found sufficiently credulous, to believe and repeat such monstrous absurdities.

Chapter V.

PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY VII.

From A. D. 1073 to A. D. 1086.

There were few statesmen in any part of Christendom, who did not dread the accesssion of Hildebrand to the papacy, but there were none prepared to provoke his resentment by interfering to prevent his election. The irregular and precipitate manner in which he was chosen, seems to prove, that some opposition was dreaded by his partisans; and Hildebrand himself found it necessary to disarm hostility, by an affectation of submission to the emperor. He wrote to Henry, that he had been chosen against his will, that he had no wish for the office, and that he would not be consecrated without the imperial sanction. Deceived by this hypocrisy, Henry ratified the irregular election, and Hildebrand was enthroned with the title of Gregory VII.

No sooner was he secured on the throne, than he began to put in execution his favourite plan for securing the independence of the Church, by preventing lay interference in the collation of benefices. Before he had been a month elected, he sent a legate into Spain, to reform the ecclesiastical abuses of that kingdom; but principally to claim for the apostolic see all the conquests that had recently been made

from the Moors, under the pretence that the Spanish peninsula, before the Saracenic invasion, had been tributary to the successors of St. Peter. Henry was so much daunted by this and similar displays of vigour, that he sent a submissive letter to the pontiff, acknowledging his former errors in his dispute with Alexander, which he attributed to his youth and the influence of evil counsellors, desiring him to arrange the troubles in the Church of Milan at his discretion, and promising to assist him in everything with the imperial authority.

The two great objects of the pope were, to enforce the celibacy of the clergy, and the papal right to the investiture of bishops, The former of these projects was a matter of discipline, defended on plausible grounds of expediency. Its advocates pleaded, that a clergyman unincumbered with the cares of a family could devote his whole attention to the flock intrusted to his charge; and that a bishop without children would be free to exercise his patronage without being warped by domestic affection. On the other hand, men were thus forced to sacrifice the noblest and best of human feelings; they were denaturalized, cut off from the influences of social life: the Church became the country and the home of every person who embraced the ecclesiastical profession. After ordination, the priest and the bishop were no longer Germans, Spaniards, or Englishmen;—they were Romans;—ministers and peers of a mighty empire, that claimed

the dominion of the whole globe. "Like the envoy or minister of any foreign government, a member of the Romish hierarchy observes the laws of the state in which his master may have placed him, and respects for a time the authority of the local magistrate: but his order is his country, the pontiff is his natural sovereign, and their welfare and their honour are the appropriate objects of his public care*." The constant sight of such a sacrifice of the natural feelings of mankind, was obviously calculated to win the respect of the laity, and gain credence for the superior sanctity that was supposed to invest the character of a priest.

The pope's determination to destroy the practice of lay investitures, was defended on more plausible grounds. The administration of ecclesiastical patronage by the emperor and other temporal princes, was liable to great abuses, and had actually led to many: they supplied vacancies with the ignorant, the depraved, and the violent; they sought for the qualifications of a soldier or a politician, when they had to elect a bishop. In a dark age, when monarchs and nobles were rarely able to write their own names; when the knowledge of the alphabet, even in aristocratic families, was so rare, as to be deemed a spell against witchcraft; and when the fierce qualities of a warrior were valued more highly than the Christian virtues, it seemed almost necessary to render appointments in the Church inde-

* Phelan's Policy of the Church of Rome.

pendent of the state. But to this obvious expediency, Gregory VII. added a blasphemous claim of right, as Christ's vicar on earth, and inheritor of his visible throne. While, however, we condemn such impious assumptions, we should not refuse to Hildebrand the credit of higher and purer motives, than those of personal aggrandisement, mingling in his schemes for extending his own power and that of his successors. It is undeniable, that the corporate authority he procured for the Church, became, in many European countries, a source of much benefit during the middle ages, overawing the violent, protecting the forlorn, mitigating the prevailing ferocity of manners, and supplying in various ways the defects of civil institutions.

Gregory, having assembled a general council at Rome, ordained, by consent of the bishops present, that if any one should accept investiture from a layman, both the giver and the receiver should be excommunicated; that the prelates and nobles who advised the emperor to claim the collation of benefices, should be excommunicated: and that all married priests should dismiss their wives, or be deposed. These decrees were communicated to the sovereigns of Europe by Gregory himself, in letters that must ever remain a monument of his consummate abilities. His monstrous claims for the universal supremacy of the Church and of the Romish See, are proposed in a tone of humility and candour, well calculated to win the unthinking and

unwary; his dictations assume the form of affectionate suggestions, and his remonstrances resemble those of a tender and affectionate father.

But the pope did not confine his exertions to mere words; he obliged the Normans to quit their conquests in Campania, proposed a crusade against the Saracens who were menacing Constantinople, and offered a province in Italy to Sweno, King of Denmark, under the pretence that the inhabitants were heretics. The Emperor Henry was not deceived by Gregory's professions, he hated the pontiff in his heart, and had good reason to believe that the enmity was reciprocal. It was therefore with mingled jealousy and indignation that he saw a new power established which more than rivalled his own, and he entered into a secret alliance with the Normans against their common enemy. In the mean time, a conspiracy was formed against the pope in Rome itself by some of the aristocracy, whose privileges he had invaded. Cincius, the prefect of the city, arrested the pontiff while he was celebrating mass on Christmas Day, and threw him into prison; but the populace soon rescued their favourite, Cincius would have been torn to pieces but for Gregory's interference, and all who had shared in this act of violence were banished from the city. Soon afterwards Gregory cited the emperor to appear before the Council at Rome, to answer to the charge of protecting excommunicated bishops, and granting investitures without the sanc-

tion of the Holy See. Henry, enraged by the insult, and relieved from his anxieties in Germany by a recent victory over the Saxons, resolved to temporize no longer; he assembled a synod at Worms, of the princes and prelates devoted to his cause, and procured sentence of deposition against Gregory, on a charge of simony, murder, and atheism.

Gregory was far from being disheartened by the emperor's violence; he assembled a council at Rome, solemnly excommunicated Henry, absolved his subjects in Germany and Italy from their oath of allegiance, deposed several prelates in Germany, France, and Lombardy, and published a series of papal constitutions, in which the claims of the Roman pontiffs to supremacy over all the sovereigns of the earth were asserted in the plainest terms.

The most important of these resolutions, which form the basis of the political system of popery, were:—

That the Roman Pontiff alone can be called Universal.

That he alone has a right to depose bishops.

That his legates have a right to preside over all bishops assembled in a general council.

That the pope can depose absent prelates.

That he alone has a right to use imperial ornaments.

That princes are bound to kiss his feet, and his only.

That he has a right to depose emperors.

That no synod or council summoned without his commission can be called general.

That no book can be called canonical without his authority.

That his sentence can be annulled by none, but that he may annul the decrees of all.

That the Roman Church has been, is, and will continue, infallible.

That whoever dissents from the Romish Church ceases to be a Catholic Christian.

And, that subjects may be absolved from their allegiance to wicked princes.

Some cautious prelates advised Gregory not to be too hasty in excommunicating his sovereign; to their remonstrances he made the following memorable reply:—"When Christ trusted his flock to St. Peter, saying, 'Feed my sheep,' did he except kings? Or when he gave him the power to bind and loose, did he withdraw any one from his visitation? He, therefore, who says that he cannot be bound by the bonds of the Church, must confess that he cannot be absolved by it; and he who denies that doctrine, separates himself from Christ and his Church."

Both parties now prepared for war, but all the advantages were on the side of Gregory. At the very commencement of the struggle, Gobbo, the most vigorous supporter of the emperor, died, and

his widow, the Countess Matilda, placed all her resources at the disposal of the pontiff. So completely, indeed, did this princess devote herself to support the interests of Gregory, that their mutual attachment was suspected of having transgressed the limits of innocence. The Duke of Dalmatia, gratified by the title of king, and the Norman monarch of Sicily, proffered aid to the pontiff; even the Mohammedan emperor of Morocco courted his favour, and presented him with the liberty of the Christian slaves in his dominions.

Henry, on the contrary, knew not where to look for support; in every quarter of his dominions monks and friars preached against their sovereign, and the prelates by whom he had been supported; the Saxon nobles eagerly embraced a religious pretext to renew their insurrection; the Dukes of Suabia and Carinthia demanded a change of dynasty; even the prelates who had been most zealous in urging Henry forward, terrified by threats of excommunication, abandoned his cause. A Diet was assembled at Tribur, attended by two papal legates, in which it was resolved that Henry should be deposed, unless within a limited period he presented himself before the pope and obtained absolution.

The prelates and nobles of Lombardy alone maintained their courage, and boldly retorted the excommunications of Gregory. Animated by the hope of obtaining their efficient aid, Henry resolved to cross the Alps instead of waiting for Gregory's

arrival in Germany. The hardships which the unfortunate monarch underwent during this journey, in the depth of a severe winter,—the dangers to which he was exposed from the active malice of his enemies,—the sight of the sufferings of his queen and child, who could only travel by being enclosed in the hides of oxen, and thus dragged through the Alpine passes,—would have broken a sterner spirit than Henry's. He entered Lombardy completely disheartened, and, though joined by considerable forces, he thought only of conciliating his powerful enemy by submission. Having obtained a conference with the Countess Matilda, Henry prevailed upon her to intercede for him with the pope; and her intercession, supported by the principal nobles of Italy, induced Gregory to grant an interview to his sovereign.

On the 21st of January, 1077, Henry proceeded to Canosa, where the pope resided, and was forced to submit to the greatest indignities that were ever heaped upon imperial majesty. At the first barrier, he was compelled to dismiss his attendants; when he reached the second, he was obliged to lay aside his imperial robes, and assume the habit of a penitent. For three entire days he was forced to stand barefooted and fasting, from morning till night, in the outer court of the castle, during one of the severest winters that had ever been known in northern Italy, imploring pardon of his transgressions from God and the pope. He was at length admitted

into the presence of the haughty pontiff, and, after all his submissions, obtained, not the removal, but the suspension of the excommunication.

Such harsh treatment sunk deep into Henry's mind; and his hostility to Gregory was exasperated by the pontiff accepting a grant of the Countess Matilda's possessions for the use of the Church, which would legally revert to the empire after her decease. The reproaches of the Lombards also induced him to repent of his degradation, and he renewed the war by a dishonourable, but ineffectual, attempt to arrest Gregory and Matilda. In the mean time the discontented nobles of Germany had assembled a Diet at Fercheim, deposed their sovereign, and elected Rodolph, Duke of Suabia, to the empire. This proceeding greatly embarrassed the pope; he dared not declare against Henry, who was powerful in Italy, and if he abandoned Rodolph he would ruin his own party in Germany. He resolved to preserve a neutrality in the contest, and in the mean time he directed his attention to the internal state of the Church, which had for some time been distracted by the controversy respecting the eucharist.

It is not easy to determine by whom the doctrine of transubstantiation was first broached: Selden very justly says, "this opinion is only rhetoric turned into logic," and it is easy to see how the spiritual presence of our Saviour in the Holy Communion might, in a dark and ignorant age, be repre-

sented as an actual change of the consecrated elements into his material substance. We are not concerned with the theological errors of this doctrine; our subject only requires us to notice the political purposes to which it was applied. No article of faith was better calculated to exalt the power of the priesthood; it represented them as daily working a miracle equally stupendous and mysterious; true, its nature was incomprehensible, but this circumstance, instead of exciting a suspicion of its absurdity, only increased the reverence with which it was regarded. We must not then be surprised at the zeal that the Romish priesthood has ever manifested in defending an opinion which has so materially strengthened its influence. The confessor to the Queen of Spain is said to have rebuked the opposition of a nobleman, by saying, "You should respect the man who every day has your God in his hands and your queen at his feet." In this brief sentence the purpose of the doctrine is distinctly stated; it conferred political power, and was therefore to be defended at all hazards. But common sense frequently revolted at a doctrine contradicted by sight, feeling, and taste; in the eleventh century it was ably exposed by Berengarius, a priest of Tours, who assailed it at once with ridicule and with argument. But, in his eightieth year, Berengarius was prevailed upon by Gregory to renounce his former opinions, and transubstantiation was generally received as an article of faith.

A victory obtained by Rodolph induced Gregory to depart from his cautious policy; he excommunicated Henry, and sent a crown of gold to his rival. The indignant emperor summoned a council in the mountains of the Tyrol, pronounced Gregory's deposition, and proclaimed Gilbert, Archbishop of Ravenna, pope, by the name of Clement III. Gregory immediately made peace with the Normans, and, supported by them and the Countess Matilda, he bade his enemies defiance. But in the mean time Rodolph was defeated and slain, the discontented Germans were forced to submit to the imperial authority, and Henry, at the head of a victorious army, crossed the Alps. The Norman dukes, engaged in war with the Greek emperors, neglected their ally, and the forces of the Countess Matilda were unable to cope with the imperialists. Twice was Henry driven from before the walls of Rome; but the third time he gained an entrance, by a lavish distribution of bribes, and procured the solemn installation of Clement. The emperor's departure left his partisans exposed to the vengeance of Gregory; the pontiff returned at the head of a Norman army, and gave the city to be pillaged by his barbarous auxiliaries. Having reduced Rome almost to a mass of ruins, Gregory retired to Salerno, where he was seized with a mortal disease. He died unconquered, repeating with his latest breath the excommunications which he had hurled against Henry, the antipope, and their adherents. He

viewed his own conduct in the struggle with complacency, and frequently boasted of the goodness of his cause. "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity," he exclaimed, "and it is therefore I die an exile."

Gregory may be regarded as the great founder of the political system of popery; and therefore, while he is extolled by some historians as a saint, others have described him as a disgrace to humanity. But the character of this remarkable man was formed by his age, and developed by the circumstances that surrounded him. He was the representative both of popery and democracy, principles apparently inconsistent, but which in ancient and modern times have frequently been found in close alliance. With the sanctity of the Church he shielded the people; with the strength of the people he gave stability to the Church. In the course of his long career as the secret and as the acknowledged ruler of the papacy, he displayed unquestionable abilities of the highest order; his pretensions to ascetic piety gained him the enthusiastic admiration of the multitude; the soldiers regarded him as a brave warrior and successful general; the higher ranks of the clergy yielded in the council to his fervid eloquence and political skill. His very faults became elements of his success; he was severe, vindictive, and inexorable; he knew not what it was to forgive; none of his enemies could elude the patient search and the incessant vigilance with which he pursued those

against whom he treasured wrath. It was his custom to witness the execution of those whose death he decreed; and it was awful to contemplate the serenity of his countenance and the placidity of his manners while he presided over tortures and massacres. It cannot, therefore, be a matter of wonder that the power of such a man should have swept over Christendom like a torrent, and hurried everything into the vortex of his new and gigantic institutions.

Chapter VI.

THE WAR OF INVESTITURES.—THE FIRST CRUSADE.

From A. D. 1086 to A. D. 1152.

Henry gained only a brief respite by the death of his formidable and inveterate antagonist. Victor III. was elected by the cardinals, and during his brief reign he gained several advantages over the imperial party. He was succeeded by Urban II., the friend and pupil of Gregory, who commenced his pontificate by sending an encyclical letter to the Christian churches, declaring his resolution to adhere to the political system of his deceased master. Supported by the Normans, Urban entered Rome, and assembled a council of one hundred and fifteen bishops, in which the emperor, the antipope, and their adherents, were solemnly excommunicated. At the same time he negotiated a marriage between Guelph, son of the Duke of Bavaria, a distinguished supporter of the papal cause in Germany, and the Countess Matilda. From this union, the present dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, and the reigning family of England, trace their descent. Henry marched into Italy, and though vigorously opposed by Guelph, gained several important advantages; but the papal intrigues raised enemies against him in the bosom

of his family; his eldest son Conrad rebelled, and was crowned King of Italy by Urban. This revolt compelled Henry to abandon his recent acquisitions, and retire towards the Alps.

A council was summoned to meet at Placentia, and so large a number of bishops assembled, that no church could contain them, and they were forced to deliberate in the open air. Most of Gregory's decrees were re-enacted; but, in addition to the affair of investitures, the attention of the council was directed to the rapid progress of the Mohammedans in the East, and the dangers that threatened the empire of Constantinople (A. D. 1095). The tales of the persecutions to which the Christian pilgrims were exposed by the ferocious Turks, who had become masters of the Holy Land, had excited general indignation throughout Europe. Peter the Hermit, a wild fanatic, preached everywhere the necessity of rescuing the faithful from the infidel Saracens, as he ignorantly called the Turks, and such a flame was kindled by his exertions, that a decree was issued by the council of Clermont, authorising the first crusade; at the same time the King of France, in whose dominions the council met, was excommunicated, and could only obtain absolution by humiliating submissions.

The general insanity diffused through Europe by the preaching of the first crusade, the multitudes that abandoned their homes to follow Walter the Pennyless or Godescald the Fanatic, the massacres

of the Jews, the sufferings and exploits of the disciplined adventurers that marched under the banners of Godfrey, have been described by too many historians for us to digress from our immediate subject; it is enough to say that the general fanaticism proved of essential service to the papal cause, and that the partisans of Henry suffered severely from the fury of the Crusaders in their passage through Italy.

Paschal II. was the successor of Urban, and, like him, steadfastly pursued the policy of Gregory; he easily triumphed over the antipope, who died of a broken heart, and he urged a second general crusade, which the reverses of the Christians in the Holy Land rendered necessary. To consolidate the papal structure, he assembled a council at Rome, and procured the enactment of a new oath, to be taken by all ranks of the clergy. By this oath they abjured all heresy, they promised implicit obedience to the pope and his successors, to affirm what the holy and universal Church confirms, and to condemn what she condemns (A. D. 1104). Soon after, the old emperor, Henry, was treacherously arrested by his own son Henry V., and deprived of his imperial dignity: he subsequently escaped, but before hostilities made any progress, he died of a broken heart. The Bishop of Liege honourably interred the body of his unfortunate sovereign, but papal enmity pursued Henry beyond the grave; the benevolent prelate was excommunicated, and could only obtain absolution by disinterring the corpse.

Though Henry V. owed his throne to papal influence, he would not yield the imperial right to granting investitures, and his example was followed by the Kings of England and France. The form in which monarchs gave investiture by bestowing a pastoral ring and staff, was regarded by the popes as an interference with their spiritual jurisdiction, and when the form was altered, they gave no further trouble to the English and French monarchs, but, in their disputes with the emperors, they not only forbade ecclesiastics to receive investiture from laymen, but even to take an oath of allegiance to them.

The fifth Henry proved a more formidable enemy to the papacy than his father; he led an army into Italy, made Paschal prisoner, compelled him to perform the ceremony of his coronation, and to issue a bull securing the right of investiture to the emperor and his successors. But the remonstrances of the cardinals induced the pope to annul the treaty, and he permitted Henry to be excommunicated by several provincial councils. The pontiff, however, did not ratify the sentence until the death of the Countess Matilda, and the disputes about her inheritance, created fresh animosities between the empire and the Holy See.

The death of Paschal prevented an immediate war. His successors, Gelasius II. and Calixtus II., however, supported his policy, and, after a long struggle, the emperor was forced to resign his claim to episcopal investitures, but he was permitted to retain

the investiture of the temporal rights belonging to the sees.

During the pontificate of Honorius II., the successor of Calixtus, the Church of Ireland, for the first time, was brought under the supremacy of the pope by the exertions of St. Malachi, a monk of great influence and reputation. The greater part of the reign of Honorius was spent in a contest with the Normans in southern Italy, whom he forced to continue in their allegiance.

Innocent II. and Anacletus, elected by rival factions, were both enthroned the same day, and the papacy was consequently rent by a schism. Anacletus was the grandson of a converted Jew; he possessed great wealth, was a favourite with the Roman populace, and had an undoubted majority of the cardinals in his favour, yet he is stigmatized as an antipope. This was principally owing to the exertions of the celebrated St. Bernard, who warmly espoused the cause of Innocent, and procured him the support of the King of France and the German emperor. On the death of Anacletus, his party elected another antipope, but he soon made his submission to Innocent, and the schism was appeased.

A general council was soon afterwards assembled at Rome (A. D. 1139), at which no less than a thousand bishops were present; several ordinances were made for completing the ecclesiastical organization of the Church. The opinions of Arnold of Brescia

were condemned at this council; they were derived from the celebrated Abelard, whose controversy with St. Bernard began to excite universal attention.

Abelard was generally regarded as the most accomplished scholar and the best logician in Europe; crowds of disciples flocked to hear his lectures, and though he did not break through the trammels of scholastic philosophy, he gave an impulse to the spirit of inquiry which, in a future age, produced beneficial effects. St. Bernard, whose opinions were invested by the bishops with a kind of apostolic authority, accused Abelard of teaching heretical opinions respecting the doctrine of the Trinity. Abelard denied the imputation, and the dispute turned on metaphysical subtleties, to which neither party affixed a definite meaning. Abelard's opinions were condemned by a council at Sens, but he was permitted to retire into the monastery of Clugny, where he died in peace.

This obscure controversy was the first symptom of the struggle between scholastic divinity and philosophy. Abelard was subdued, but he bequeathed his cause to a succession of faithful disciples, who gradually emancipated knowledge from the confinement of the cloister, and liberated the human mind from the thraldom of popery. Abelard's opinions were purely theological; his disciple, Arnold of Brescia, abandoning his master's mysticism, directed his attention to the reform of the Church and of the government. He declared that the political power and wealth of the clergy were inconsistent with the

sanctity of their profession, and he began to preach these doctrines in Italy and Germany; so great was his influence, that he was invited to Rome, in order to revive the republic. Innocent II., Celestine II., Lucius II., and Eugenius III., had to struggle with "the politicians," as the followers of Arnold were called, for the maintenance of their domestic power; and during this period the aggressions of popery on the rights of kings and nations were suspended. Rome set the example of resistance to the pontiffs; Italy, for a brief space, furnished the boldest opponents to the papal usurpations; but when Europe began to profit by the example, the Italians discovered that the overthrow of the papacy would diminish the profits which they derived from the payments made by superstition and ignorance to the Roman exchequer; and they lent their aid to the support of the lucrative delusion they had been the first to expose, and even yielded their liberties to the pontiffs, on condition of sharing in their unhallowed gains.

Chapter VII.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PAPAL AND IMPERIAL POWER IN THE REIGN OF FREDERIC BARBAROSSA.—THE ALBIGENSIAN WAR.

From A. D. 1152 to A. D. 1187.

The eloquence of St. Bernard roused the monarchs of France and Germany to undertake a new crusade, in consequence of the dangers to which the kingdom of Jerusalem was exposed after the capture of Edessa by Noureddin, the most powerful Moslem prince whom the crusaders had yet encountered. The Emperor Conrad, and Louis VII., led mighty armies into Asia, but the want of conduct in the leaders, and discipline in the soldiers, the difficulties of the country, the heat of the climate, the perfidy of the Greeks, and the disunion of the Latins, proved fatal to the expedition, and the two monarchs returned to Europe, having vainly sacrificed the lives of myriads of their bravest subjects. The Emperor Conrad, anxious to make some atonement to his subjects, passed over his son, and nominated his nephew Frederic Barbarossa his successor, trusting that this young man, in whose person were united the rival claims of the Guelph and Ghibelline families, would restore the empire to its former prosperity. The Diet at Frankfort adopted the wise plans of Conrad, and Frederic I. was proclaimed.

Pope Eugenius III. entered into a close alliance with Frederic; he trusted to obtain the emperor's aid in subduing the partisans of Arnold, who had formed the insane project of restoring the old Roman republic. Frederic soon performed his part of the treaty, and Eugenius had leisure to complete the union of the Irish Church to the papacy. He sent a legate to Ireland, who established four metropolitan sees in the island, and bestowed the pall, the Romish symbol of investiture, on the new archbishops. The attempts of the Byzantine emperor, Manuel Comnenus, to recover the Italian provinces that formed the ancient exarchate, drew Eugenius and Frederic into closer alliance, but their harmony was soon interrupted by the revival of the question of investitures. Frederic conferred the archbishopric of Magdeburgh on one of his favourites; the pope angrily remonstrated, the emperor persevered; excommunications were prepared on one side, armies levied on the other, when the death of Eugenius adjourned the contest.

Anastasius IV. only appeared on the pontifical throne to grant extensive privileges to the military order of the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. This order was originally a charitable institution for the relief of the poor pilgrims who visited Jerusalem; they subsequently undertook the defence of the roads that led to the Holy Sepulchre, and gradually assumed a military organization. Their order, subsequently enriched by mistaken piety, be-

came equally remarkable for its bravery, wealth, and profligacy. Anastasius permitted Frederic's nominee to retain the archbishopric of Magdeburgh, and the reproaches of the cardinals for this dereliction of the papal claims is said to have hastened his end.

Nicholas Breakspear, an Englishman by birth, was elected to the papacy, by the title of Adrian IV., at a time when the partisans of Arnold were complete masters of Rome. The emperor and the pope were equally interested in suppressing the republican party; Frederic led an army into Italy, and Adrian placed Rome under an interdict. Arnold fled, but he was arrested by the emperor, and delivered to the ecclesiastical power. After the mockery of a trial, this daring reformer was sentenced to be burned alive as a heretic and a traitor. The Romans, as if roused by the sight of his funeral pile, took arms to dispute for his ashes as relics, and his memory was long revered by the giddy populace.

But Adrian, though gratified by the surrender of Arnold, was not disposed to trust implicitly to the professions of Frederic, and the emperor was secretly annoyed by the extravagant pretensions of the pontiff. Though the pope was conscious that he could not compete with the monarch, he would not resign his pretensions to superiority, and when he visited the German camp, he refused to give Frederic the kiss of peace, because the emperor had declined to hold the stirrup of his horse! Frederic, after some hesitation, agreed to gratify the egregious

vanity of the pontiff, and performed this degrading ceremony in the presence of his whole army.

Adrian now consented to perform the coronation of the emperor; but the Roman citizens, enraged at the contempt with which their claims were treated, raised a formidable insurrection, and murdered several bishops. Frederic attacked the disorderly mob, slew more than a thousand of the revolters, and then went to the cathedral to receive the golden crown. A pestilence soon after destroyed so many of the imperialists, that both the pope and the emperor deemed it prudent to abandon Rome; so that the solemnity of the coronation was generally regarded as a useless butchery.

Shortly after this transaction, Adrian received an important application from Henry Plantagenet, King of England, which led to a remarkable assertion of the papal right to bestow kingdoms and empires. It deserves our attention, both as a memorable example of the usurping spirit of popery, and as the origin of the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland. We have already mentioned that the Irish Church was first united to the Romish see by the exertions of St. Malachi; the claims of the prelates to exclusive privileges were resisted by the native Irish princes and the inferior clergy, who appear to have been strongly attached to their ancient institutions. Henry, encouraged by the descendants of the Danes who had settled in Ireland, and solicited by the ambitious prelates, resolved

to annex this valuable island to his dominions. He applied to the pope to sanction his undertaking, declaring that his chief purpose was to re-establish the purity of Christianity (A. D. 1155). Adrian granted the desired investiture, and sent Henry a letter, which, for many reasons, it is necessary for us to insert at full length.

"Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearest son in Christ, the illustrious King of England, health and apostolical benediction.

"Full laudably and profitably hath your magnificence conceived the desire of propagating your glorious renown on earth, and completing your reward of eternal happiness in heaven; while, as a Catholic prince, you are intent on enlarging the borders of the Church, instructing the rude and ignorant in the truth of the Christian faith, exterminating vice from the vineyard of the Lord; and for the more convenient execution of this purpose, requiring the counsel and favour of the apostolic see. In which the more mature your deliberation and discreet your conduct, so much the happier, with the assistance of the Lord, will be your progress; as all things which take their beginning from the ardour of faith and the love of religion are wont to come to a prosperous issue.

"There is indeed no doubt, as your highness also doth acknowledge, that Ireland and all the islands upon which Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, hath shone, do belong to the patrimony of St. Peter and

the holy Roman Church. Therefore are we the more solicitous to propagate in that land the goodly scion of faith, as we have the secret monition of conscience that such is more especially our bounden duty.

"You, then, most dear son in Christ, have signified unto us your desire to enter into that land of Ireland, in order to reduce the people to obedience unto laws, and extirpate the seeds of vice: you have also declared that you are willing to pay from each house a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter, and that you will preserve the rights of the churches of said land whole and inviolate. We, therefore, with that grace and acceptance suited to your pious and praiseworthy design, and favourably assenting to your petition, do hold it right and good that, for the extension of the borders of the Church, the restraining of vice, the correction of manners, the planting of virtue, and increase of religion, you enter the said island, and execute therein whatever shall pertain to the honour of God and the welfare of the land; and that the people of said land receive you honourably, and reverence you as their lord, saving always the rights of the churches, and reserving to St. Peter the annual pension of one penny upon every house.

"If, then, you be resolved to carry this design into effectual execution, study to form the nation to virtuous manners; and labour by yourself, and by others whom you may judge meet for the work,

in faith, word, and action, that the Church may be there exalted, the Christian faith planted, and all things so ordered for the honour of God and the salvation of souls, that you may be entitled to a fulness of reward in heaven, and on earth to a glorious renown throughout all ages."

This conveyance was communicated by Henry to the Irish hierarchy, but the negotiations were protracted for several years, until circumstances effected a lodgment for the English arms in Ireland (A. D. 1171). The brief was then read publicly at the synod of Cashel, with a confirmatory letter from the reigning pope, Alexander III., in which Adrian's grant was recognised and renewed.

Four years afterwards (A.D. 1175), these two papal edicts were promulged by a synod held at Waterford: Henry was formally proclaimed Lord of Ireland, and the severest censures of the Church denounced against all who should impeach the donation of the Holy See, or oppose the government of its illustrious representative. From that period to the Reformation, the English monarchs, and the little Parliament of the Pale, as the restricted portion of the island subject to English rule was called, unable to maintain their pretensions by the sword, appealed to the sacredness of these papal grants; and thus gave the weight of four centuries to an authority which was ultimately to be turned against themselves.

But whilst the popes thus claimed supremacy

over distant lands, their immediate subjects and the Italian princes frequently revolted, and despised both their arms and their anathemas. The Milanese invited the Lombard cities to form a confederation against the pontiff and the emperor; William the Bad, King of Sicily, routed the papal troops in Apulia, and forced Adrian to recognise his royal title, and give him the investiture of his conquests. Frederic's firmness and power were still more injurious to the pretensions of the papacy; he compelled Adrian to retract his claims to supremacy over the empire, and, in spite of all the pope's exertions, he induced the bishops to receive investitures and take the oath of allegiance.

The death of Adrian exposed the papacy to the dangers of a disputed succession. Alexander III. and Victor IV. claimed each to be head of the Church, and sent their legates and manifestoes into every part of Christendom. Frederic assembled a council at Pavia, but Alexander protested against its legitimacy. Influenced by the emperor, the council recognised Victor; and, on the following day, Alexander was solemnly excommunicated by his rival and the bishops of his party. Alexander in his turn anathematized Victor and the emperor, comparing the latter to Sennacherib, and menacing him with the fate of the Assyrian monarch. Frederic replied by an edict, commanding the bishops of Italy and Germany to recognise Victor, under pain of perpetual exile.

The Kings of England and France adhered to the party of Alexander, for though the French monarch was displeased by the haughty conduct of the pontiff, he dreaded Frederic's ambition too much to see him master of the papacy; he even succeeded in procuring for Alexander the support of the Emperor of Constantinople. The English sovereign, Henry II., was less firm in his attachment; his contest with Becket, whom he had promoted to the primacy, rendered him jealous of ecclesiastical power, and he exerted himself to make his kingdom independent of the court of Rome. Becket obstinately persevered in resisting the Constitutions of Clarendon, by which the clerical body was placed under the due control of the sovereign; he was banished, but he found a safe asylum with the King of France, Henry's inveterate rival, and Alexander hazarded the loss of an ally rather than sacrifice any of the exorbitant privileges claimed by the Church.

English history relates the consequences of this struggle. Becket triumphed over his sovereign; he returned to Canterbury, and hurled excommunications against all who had incurred his displeasure. His ambition and his insolence provoked Henry to an imprudent exclamation, too rigidly interpreted by his followers. Becket was murdered at the altar; the Romish Church enrolled him in the rank of its saints, and certainly he deserves to be esteemed the martyr of pontific pride and ecclesiastical ambition.

Whilst England and France were agitated by

Becket's obstinacy, Italy and Germany were far from being tranquil. The emperor had to combat in every direction to support the pope of his choice, and to repress the Lombard league for establishing the independence of the cities in Northern Italy. Victor was dead, but the emperor had procured the election of a new antipope, Paschal III., whom he supported with all his might. Aided by the Italian cities, the King of Sicily, and the Greek emperor, Alexander gained possession of Rome; but Frederic soon compelled him to evacuate the city. The climate, however, was a formidable foe to the imperialists; Frederic, having lost the best part of his troops by a pestilence, was forced to retire beyond the Alps.

Alexander was now regarded as the head of the Lombard league; and the city of Alexandria, built in contempt of the emperor, was a striking proof of his influence over the Italians. The pontiff was not slow in taking advantage of his new position, and he summoned the King of England to render an account of the murder of St. Thomas à Becket. Henry at first refused, but the efforts of the priests and monks filled him with just alarm for the safety of his crown, and he was forced to submit to the terms imposed upon him by the papal legates. He promised to join in a crusade, to restore the possessions of the see of Canterbury, to permit appeals to Rome; and he submitted to be beaten with rods before the tomb of Becket. This humiliation,

equally disgraceful to Alexander and to Henry, was a proof that the papacy could only be exalted by the degradation of royalty, and that the Romish See wished to rule over slaves.

Frederic Barbarossa was still too powerful to yield; he assembled a large army for his seventh invasion of Italy, and marched to suppress the anomalous league between religious fanaticism and the spirit of liberty. The Germans were everywhere unsuccessful, they were forced to raise the siege of Alexandria, and they were routed by the confederates with great slaughter at Lignano. The terror of the papal excommunications was increased by these disasters; even the friends of the emperor believed that these reverses were proofs that he was abandoned by heaven, and urged him to make peace.

Alexander was not disinclined to negotiation, and conferences were opened at Venice, whither the pope went to preside over the treaty. After a long discussion, Frederic granted a truce for six years to the Lombards, and for fifteen to the King of Sicily, but he made a perpetual peace with the Church. It was not until the emperor had signed the treaty, and stigmatized as schismatics the antipopes whom he had himself elected, that he was permitted to enter Venice; and even then he had to submit to the degradation of holding the pope's stirrup, and leading his horse by the bridle.

To recompense the hospitality of the Venetians,

and at the same time to assert his own authority, the pope granted the sovereignty of the Adriatic Sea to the republic. "Receive from me this ring," said he publicly to the doge, "as a symbol of dominion over the sea; you and your successors shall espouse its waters every year, in order that posterity may know that the sea belongs to you by right of victory, and must submit to your republic as a wife does to her husband." It was thus that the papacy arrogated to itself every right and flattered every ambition; until, imposing on itself, as well as others, it carried its claims to such an extravagant excess, that they became ridiculous. For many ages the Venetian republic, relying on this absurd investiture of Pope Alexander, asserted its supremacy over the Adriatic Sea, and contended for its right against the kingdom of Naples. But the empire of superstition, like that of force, has its limits; and Venice, fallen from its high estate to the rank of those cities that have lost both their independence and the hope of its recovery, has been divorced from the Adriatic for ever.

The Romans, alarmed by the success of the pontiff, resigned their liberties into his hands, and entreated him to return to a city where he should henceforth rule as absolute master; the antipope, deserted by the emperor, hastened to make his submissions, and Alexander summoned a general council to proclaim his triumph over schismatics and kings (A. D. 1179). To this assembly, not only the bishops

of Europe were invited, but also those of Asia and the Greek Church.

This council, the eleventh recognized by the Church of Rome as general, directed its attention chiefly to matters of discipline. To prevent any future schisms from controverted elections, it was ordained that the votes of two-thirds of the cardinals should be necessary to ensure the success of a candidate. It was declared sacrilege to impose a tax upon church property, but the clergy were permitted to make voluntary contributions to the support of the state. Finally, sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the Albigenses, and the same privileges granted to those who took arms against them as to crusaders and pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre.

The cities of Languedoc were at this time remarkable for their commercial wealth and their spirit of independence; they had embraced the doctrines of the Paulicians, a sect which, amid many errors, held fast to the important principle, that the Scriptures were the sole rule of faith, and consequently condemned the supremacy over the conscience claimed by the Romish priesthood. Such a doctrine was so directly opposed to popery, that these heretics were stigmatised as the worst of criminals; and the Albigenses, as they were called, were delivered over to the sword of the Catholic princes. We shall soon see the terrible effects of the vengeance of the Church; and these religious wars will present to us

the most horrible picture of modern times. In these crusades, the cruelties of the victors and the vanquished knew no bounds, and the atrocities of both were shocking to human nature. The cardinal of Albano, abbot of Clairvaux, had the melancholy honour of leading the first expedition against the Albigenses; and the massacres of Lavaur were only the prelude of the horrors that signalised these impious wars, in which the Church, to bring back those whom it judged to have gone astray, employed murderers as missionaries, and massacres as arguments.

Lucius III., who succeeded Alexander, was involved in a quarrel with the emperor respecting the inheritance of the Countess Matilda; but before the dispute produced any decisive effect, Lucius died, and was succeeded by Urban III. Urban's reign was also brief; the fall of Jerusalem, which was stormed by the celebrated Saladin, is supposed to have hastened his death. He bequeathed to Europe a fresh war between the papacy and the empire, and the useless expenditure of a third crusade.

Chapter VIII.

THE THIRD AND FOURTH CRUSADES.—THE PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT III.

From A. D. 1187 to A. D. 1216.

The third crusade was undertaken with as much enthusiasm as the first, and produced a greater influence on the policy of kingdoms. Frederic Barbarossa led the forces of the empire to Asia; the King of Hungary made peace with the Venetian republic, to direct his efforts towards the recovery of Jerusalem; the Kings of England and France, for a time, laid aside their animosities, and accepted, from William of Tyre, the cross, and the peace of God. All ranks, with a single exception, offered their services or their wealth to redeem the Holy Sepulchre; the clergy alone claimed an exemption from taxation, and declared that they were only bound to forward the war by their prayers. Philip Augustus, the most crafty of the French sovereigns, permitted his nobles to levy contributions on the priesthood, and when complaints were made, he gravely offered them the benefit of his prayers. The brief papacies of Gregory VIII., Clement III., and Celestine III., witnessed the commencement and termination of this holy war. Frederic died of fever, Philip Augustus returned to Europe to plunder his brothers in arms, and Richard of England, compelled to

make peace with Saladin, was arrested on his road home, and long doomed to languish in a German prison.

Celestine had only commenced his reign, when Henry VI. informed him of the death of his father, the Emperor Frederic, and required the pope to perform the ceremony of his coronation. After some deliberation, Henry's demands were granted, and he was crowned in the church of St. Peter, having previously sworn that he would maintain the rights of the Church. Scarcely was the ceremony completed, when Celestine, who inherited the pride of Gregory VII., raised his foot and kicked off the crown which he had just placed on the monarch's head, to show that he had the power of depriving him of the imperial dignity, as well as conferring it. Henry did not resent this insult; he even abandoned to the pope the city of Tusculum, which had long been an object of hatred to the Romans. Celestine gave up the ill-fated city to the Romans, whose favour he wished to conciliate; they rased Tusculum to the ground, while the unfortunate inhabitants were forced to seek shelter in huts made of the branches of trees. From this circumstance, the Tusculans named the place of their retreat, Frascati; a town which still continues a monument of Henry's weakness, and Celestine's ambition.

The pope displayed much more disinterestedness, in the protection he granted to the English king, Richard, and his dominions. When Philip Augustus

abandoned the crusade, he passed through Rome on his return to France, and supplicated the pope to absolve him from the oath he had taken, not to invade Richard's dominions during his absence. Celestine indignantly refused his consent, and threatened Philip with his vengeance, if he should attack the British territories. Finally, when Richard was detained a prisoner in Germany, Celestine threatened the emperor with excommunication, if he refused to liberate his illustrious captive. Henry, however, was more influenced by a large ransom, than the papal menaces; and Richard obtained his freedom only on condition of paying a large sum, which exhausted his treasury.

The emperor, having obtained possession of the kingdom of Sicily, became more formidable to the papal power than any of his predecessors; but before he could make any use of his superiority, he was attacked by a mortal disease, which cut him off in the midst of his career. As he died while under sentence of excommunication, the pope at first refused to allow his body Christian burial, and it was only by the payment of a large bribe that the imperial family procured honourable interment for the deceased emperor, and the peaceful accession to the crown of Sicily for his infant son, afterwards Frederic II.

Celestine died at an advanced age, just as he was about to commence a fierce struggle with the King of France: he was succeeded by Innocent III., a

pontiff well calculated to support and extend the political system of Gregory VII.

Descended from an illustrious family, raised to the papal throne in the very prime of life, celebrated equally for the purity of his morals and the extent of his acquirements, Innocent III. assumed the reins of power at a crisis when circumstances rendered it easy for him to recover the territories which the emperors had wrested from the papacy, and to re-establish the pontifical authority over Italy and Sicily, which had slipped from his feeble predecessors. Frederic II., the successor of Henry VI., was an infant only two years of age, and the Empress Constance, who was generally accused of having poisoned her husband, gave some confirmation to these suspicions, by showing hostility to the Germanic cause, and a devoted attachment to the Holy See. At her death, she entrusted the guardianship of her son and the administration of Italy to the pope, and thus made him virtually master of the empire.

The city of Rome set the example of submission; the republican institutions were abolished, the imperial prefect performed liege homage to the pontiff, the civic authorities, throughout the Patrimony of St. Peter, followed the same course; several cities of Tuscany embraced Innocent's offer of protection; in short, the papacy once more resumed its reign.

But there was reason to fear, that the rights of the empire would be revived, if the imperial power

continued in the family of the Hohenstauffen, which, during the last three reigns, had so boldly struggled against the papal authority. Innocent, therefore, used his utmost efforts to support Otho, Duke of Brunswick, against Philip, Duke of Suabia, brother of the late emperor. The competition of these rivals involved Europe in war. John, King of England, supported the cause of his nephew, Otho, with men and money; Philip Augustus, of France, declared for the Duke of Suabia. The pope fulminated excommunications against Philip Augustus, but they were disregarded; even the bishops persevered in their allegiance to their lawful sovereign; the barons rallied round the throne, and the few ecclesiastics who ventured to publish the papal anathemas, were punished. But Philip dreaded the fanaticism of the lower orders, and he made an advance to reconciliation with the pope, by repudiating his queen Agnes, whose marriage had been disallowed by the Holy See, and taking back his first wife Ingelburga.

But this unexpected submission of Philip Augustus was not the only triumph of Innocent's policy; several other princes, in different parts of Europe, had obeyed him as if they were his vassals. He had ordered the brother of the King of Hungary to set out for Palestine; he had commanded the Kings of Denmark and Sweden to attack Norway; he had compelled the Kings of Arragon, Portugal, and, at a later period, Poland, to acknowledge themselves

tributaries of the Holy See. When intelligence of the death of Saladin was received in Europe, he preached a new crusade, and levied a tax of one-fortieth on all ecclesiastical revenues. He designed to convoke a general council, and commanded the Emperor of Constantinople, under pain of excommunication, to send representatives to the assembly. He favoured the insurrections in Bulgaria and Servia, rewarding two rebel princes with regal crowns and titles for their attachment to the Church of Rome,—a merit which, in Innocent's eyes, outbalanced all others. Even Gregory VII. would scarcely have ventured on such a display of power; but, while Innocent rivalled that pontiff in daring and ambition, he surpassed him in diplomatic skill and political management.

Innocent, as well as Hildebrand, had to encounter a vigorous opposition. The King of France bade him defiance; the princes and prelates of Germany, who supported Philip of Suabia, denied the validity of his claims to be the supreme judge in the election to the empire. The Archbishops of Magdeburgh and Bremen, eleven bishops, and several professors, sent a spirited remonstrance to Rome, in which the usurpations of the popes were canvassed with unusual freedom, and their dependence on the emperors strenuously asserted. When Gregory VII. attacked the imperial power, it was only in Italy that the Emperor Henry could find support, but Germany had now become more enlightened, and

its ecclesiastics rallied round their sovereign. Innocent III. was alarmed, but not dismayed; instead of excommunicating his opponents, he condescended to reason with them, but soon found that he had the worst of the argument.

In the mean time, the fourth crusade was undertaken at the instigation of the fanatic, Foulke of Neuilly (A. D. 1202). The adventurers who joined in this expedition soon showed that religious enthusiasm was not the sole motive of their conduct. Instead of proceeding to Palestine, they sold their services to the Venetians, and, in spite of papal remonstrances and excommunications, employed themselves in wresting Zara from the King of Hungary. After this exploit, they entered into a treaty with young Alexis Comnenus, for restoring his father to the throne of Constantinople; finally, they seized the Greek empire for themselves, and placed one of their captains, Baldwin, Count of Flanders, upon the throne.

Innocent had been very indignant with the crusaders for neglecting the proper purposes of their expedition, but the capture of Constantinople seemed to promise more substantial advantages than any victory over the Mohammedans could confer, for it opened a way to establish the supremacy of the Romish See over the schismatical churches of the East.

Philip Augustus, to please the pope, actively engaged in the crusade against the Albigenses, but the

history of this horrible war requires a separate chapter. Innocent was unfortunate in his support of Otho; that prince, having been driven from Germany, sought refuge in England, and the pope immediately entered into negotiations with Philip of Suabia. Otho himself made peace with his former rival, and married his daughter Beatrice, and soon after, on the death of Philip, peaceably ascended the throne. Innocent now renewed his professions to Otho, but his overtures were coldly received. Otho was more anxious to maintain the rights of the empire than to secure the friendship of the pontiff; he was, however, forced to dissemble until the ceremony of coronation was performed, and he lulled suspicion by swearing that he would not disturb episcopal inheritance, nor lay claim to the donation of the Countess Matilda.

Scarcely had Otho obtained the crown than he violated his oaths, under the pretence that he had previously sworn to the Diet never to abandon his imperial rights. Innocent was prompt in his revenge; he excommunicated Otho, stimulated Frederic II. to assert his claims to the empire, roused the Guelph barons in Italy to attack the imperialists, and induced Philip Augustus to declare war against the Emperor. Innocent's hatred of Otho extended to the allies of that monarch. There had long been a jealousy between the pope and John, the despicable King of England, respecting the see of Canterbury. Weak, superstitious, and cowardly as he was, John

had still sufficient spirit to refuse the primacy to a prelate whose only claim was the nomination of the pope; and when he was menaced with excommunication for his obstinacy, he retorted by forbidding all appeals and payment of tribute to the Holy See.

This was a bold proceeding, but courage and perseverance were necessary to its success. John possessed neither of these qualifications, and Innocent was well aware of his deficiencies. Calculating on the disaffection of the English to their worthless sovereign, and the ancient enmity between that monarch and Philip Augustus, the pope excommunicated John, declared that he had forfeited his right to the throne, preached a crusade against him, and engaged the King of France, for the remission of his sins, to undertake the conquest of England.

Hitherto, Philip Augustus had been the most strenuous defender of the rights of kings against papal usurpation; but, blinded by ambition, he now embraced a different course of policy, and sanctioned a precedent which might so easily be turned against himself and his successors. Scarcely had he committed this imprudence, when John made peace with the Holy See, and showed himself as grovelling in his submission as he had been rash in his resistance. He admitted Langton to the see of Canterbury, pardoned the prelates that had rebelled, and even declared himself a vassal of the Church. Kneeling before the papal legate, he performed the degrading ceremony of liege homage, and resigned his crown

and sceptre. The legate detained the ensigns of royal dignity for five days, and then restored them as a gratuitous gift from the pope. From England, the papal envoy hasted into France, to announce that John had been taken under the protection of the pontiff.

A general cry of indignation was raised against these transactions; the English barons flew to arms, Langton himself showed more zeal for his country than his order, and, in defiance of papal prohibitions, John was compelled to sign the GREAT CHARTER of English liberty (1215). The pope interfered for his vassal, and annulled the proceedings of the barons; but they disregarded the thunders of the Vatican, and believing that they could obtain no security for their freedom from their degraded sovereign, they offered the crown of England to Louis, eldest son of the King of France. Though Innocent menaced excommunications, Philip accepted the offer, and recalled Louis from the Albigensian war which the pope had commanded, to undertake the conquest of England which the same authority had interdicted.

The execution of the enterprise was prompt. Louis landed in England, defeated John, and was crowned in London. Innocent was perfectly maddened by the intelligence. "Sword, sword!" he exclaimed in the words of Ezekiel, "be drawn from thy scabbard, be furbished for the slaughter, to consume because of thy glittering." He hurled excommunications against Louis and Philip Augustus, but

he did not live to ascribe their failure in England to the effect of his maledictions; as if worn out by this last effort of rage and despotism, he died a few days after this explosion of wrath (A. D. 1216).

Innocent III. has been as absurdly maligned, as he has been unwisely extolled. There is no portion of history in which the passions and prejudices of party lead to more error, than the papal annals; and there are no popes whose conduct has been more misrepresented, than Gregory VII. and Innocent III. The evil that they wrought, the ambition that they displayed, on an impartial review of the circumstances under which they were placed, must for the most part appear the necessary result of their position. When once the papacy was forced from its natural course and formed into a political power, it had no choice between supreme command and total ruin; especially in an age of ignorance, when forbearance could not be appreciated. It is the ordinary law of humanity, that power will belong to the most intelligent, and he must be more or less than man, who does not seize authority, when he feels conscious that he alone is fitted for its exercise. Doubtless, it was a misfortune for the Christian world, that the popes united so much genius with so much ambition; for it was difficult to shake off a yoke imposed in the name of God himself. Their place in the onward progress of civilization, was naturally before emperors and kings; the position was not their fault,—the means they took to acquire

and maintain it, constitute their fatal error. Once deprived of this purely political position, which could not be retained because it was political, the papacy was never able to regain its position in the hearts and minds of the people, which it should never have abandoned.

Like Gregory VII., Innocent III. was better qualified to be a temporal than a spiritual sovereign; love of power was his religion, and unmitigated despotism his creed. It is interesting to contemplate the difference between him and Gregory: both were engaged in the same struggle, both employed the same means, both had to encounter dangerous adversaries; but the views of Innocent were more profound, his character more energetic, and his passions less controlled by experience. He was thus the more bitter enemy, but also the irritation of those who were the objects and victims of his aggressions was proportionally increased. He lived in an age when intelligence had made a considerable advance, and he acted as if the ignorance of the preceding century still prevailed. Royalty had begun to assume an imposing form, by breaking down the ruinous privileges of the great feudal lords; discussion had begun to take the place of blind obedience; manifestoes were circulated, containing appeals from sovereigns to their subjects against papal usurpations. The circumstances of his position, and the natural warmth of his temperament, placed Innocent in opposition to the

growth of civilization; he contended against men who knew their rights and his duties, who had courage to brave his menaces and expose the falsehood of his pretensions.

We have already seen that the King of France had defended the rights of his crown against the claims of the pope: but he did not confine himself to supporting the royal jurisdiction; he exerted himself to deliver his people from the tyranny of ecclesiastical tribunals. He declared himself the protector of the treaty formed by the French nobles to secure their vassals from foreign judges. This memorable agreement, which the Duke of Burgundy, and the Counts of Angoulême and Saint Pol, had been elected to protect, declared, "that the clergy ought to be brought back to the state of the primitive church, that they should be forced to live in retirement, and that they should revive the practice of working miracles, which had fallen into disuse." It must be confessed that this treaty is no great proof of the wisdom of the French barons, but assuredly, considering the epoch, it is a remarkable monument of their courage. The banner of resistance was unfurled in presence of the ablest chieftain that ever led onward the conquering career of popery; and when he quailed before it, the future failure of his less enterprising and less intelligent successors might have been safely predicted.

Chapter IX.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE ALBIGENSES.

From A. D. 1200 to A. D. 1229.

It has been already mentioned that the growth of heresy was beginning to alarm the advocates of papal supremacy in the reign of Alexander III., and that a general council had pronounced a solemn decree against the Albigenses. But the feudal lords of France and Italy were slow in adopting an edict which would have deprived them of their best vassals, and the new opinions, or rather the original doctrines of Christianity, were secretly preached throughout the greater part of Europe. It may be conceded to the defenders of the papal system that there were some among the preachers of a reformation who had given too great a scope to their imaginations, and revived many of the dangerous errors of the Manichæans and Paulicians. There seems no just cause for doubting that a few enthusiasts ascribed the Old Testament to the Principle of Evil; because, as they asserted, "God is there described as a homicide, destroying the world by water, Sodom and Gomorrah by fire, and the Egyptians by the overflow of the Red Sea." But these were the sentiments of a very small minority; the bulk of the Albigensian reformers protested simply against

the doctrine of transubstantiation, the sacraments of confirmation, confession, and marriage, the invocation of saints, the worship of images, and the temporal power of the prelates. Their moral character was confessed by their enemies, but while they acknowledged its external purity, they invented the blackest calumnies respecting their secret practices, without ever bringing forward a shadow of proof, and consequently without incurring the hazard of refutation. The progress of reform was silent; for the efforts of the *paterins*, or Albigensian teachers, were directed rather to forming a moral and pure society within the Church, than to the establishment of a new sect. They seemed anxious to hold the same relation to the Romish establishment that John Wesley designed the Methodists to keep towards the Church of England Their labours generated an independence of spirit and freedom of judgment which would probably have led to an open revolt, had not Innocent III. discerned the danger to which the papal system was exposed, and resolved to crush freedom of thought before its exercise would subvert his despotism.

Innocent's first step was to enlist cupidity and self-interest on his side; he abandoned to the barons the confiscated properties of heretics, and ordered that the enemies of the Church should be for ever banished from the lands of which they were deprived. He then sent commissioners into the south of France, to examine and punish those suspected of entertain-

ing heretical opinions, and thus laid the first foundation of the Inquisition. The arrogance and violence of these papal emissaries disgusted every class of society; finding that their persecutions were unpopular, they resolved to support their power by force of arms, and they were not long in discovering the materials of an army.

Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, was engaged in war with some of the neighbouring barons, and Peter de Castelnau, the papal legate, offered to act as mediator. He went to the barons and obtained from them a promise that, if Raymond would consent to their demands, they would employ all the forces they had assembled to extirpate heresy. Castelnau drew up a treaty on these conditions, and offered it to Raymond for his signature. The count was naturally reluctant to purchase the slaughter of his best subjects, by the sacrifice of his dominions, and the admission of a hostile army into his states. He peremptorily refused his consent, upon which Castelnau excommunicated Raymond, placed his dominions under an interdict, and wrote to the pope for a confirmation of the sentence.

Innocent III. confirmed the legate's sentence, and began to preach a crusade; but his violence transcended all bounds, when he learned that Castelnau had been slain by a gentleman of Toulouse whom he had personally insulted (A. D. 1208). Though Raymond appears to have had no share in this murder, it was against him that the papal ven-

geance was principally directed: he was excommunicated, his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance, and the French king was invited to despoil him of his estates.

Philip Augustus was too busily engaged in wars with the King of England and the Emperor of Germany to turn his attention to the extirpation of heresy; but he permitted a crusade against the Albigenses to be preached throughout his dominions, and the monks of Citeaux became the chief missionaries of this unholy war; they promised the pardon of all sins committed from the day of birth to death, to those who fell in the war; unlimited indulgence, the protection of the Church, and a large share of spoil to all who survived. Whilst the monks were enlisting ferocious bands of wretches, who believed that they might expiate their former crimes by the perpetration of fresh atrocities, Innocent was preparing a new mission to Languedoc, whose savage brutalities exceeded even those of the crusaders. A new monastic order was instituted, at the head of which was placed a Spaniard named St. Dominic, whose special object was to extirpate heresy, by preaching against the doctrines of those who dissented from the Church, and punishing with death those who could not be convinced by argument. This institution, too well known by the dreaded name of the Inquisition, appears to have been originally planned by the Bishop of Toulouse, who introduced it into his diocese about seven years

before it was formally sanctioned by Pope Innocent at the council of Lateran.

Raymond VI., and his nephew Raymond Roger, Viscount of Albi, alarmed at the approaching danger, presented themselves before the papal legate, Arnold, Abbot of Citeaux, to avert the coming storm by explanations and submissions. They protested that they had never sanctioned heresy, and that they had no share in the murder of Castelnau. The severity with which they were treated by the legate, convinced the young viscount that nothing was to be hoped from negotiation, and he returned to his states, resolved to defend himself to the last extremity: the Count of Toulouse showed less fortitude; he promised to submit to any conditions which the pope would impose.

Raymond's ambassadors were received by the pope with apparent indulgence; but the terms on which absolution were offered to the count could scarcely have been more severe. He was required to make common cause with the crusaders, to aid them in the extirpation of heretics,—that is, his own subjects,—and to give up seven of his best castles as a pledge of his intentions. Innocent declared that, if Raymond performed these conditions, he would not only be absolved, but taken into special favour; yet, at the very same moment, the pope was inflexibly resolved on the count's destruction, as appears by the following extract from a letter addressed by Innocent to the Abbot of Citeaux.

"We advise you, according to the precepts of the apostle Paul, to use cunning in your dealings with the count, which, in the present case, should rather be deemed prudence. It is expedient to attack those separately who have broken the unity of the Church; to spare the Count of Toulouse for a season, treating him with wise dissimulation, in order that the other heretics may be more easily destroyed, and that we may crush him at our leisure when he stands alone."

It is remarkable that when the Roman pontiffs, especially Gregory VII. and Innocent III., had any pernicious design to recommend, they were lavish in their appeals to Scripture, as if they had studied the Bible merely to find an excuse for sacrilege. It has been truly said by England's bard,—

> The devil can quote Scripture for his purpose.
> An evil soul producing holy witness,
> Is like a villain with a smiling cheek;
> A goodly apple rotten at the core.

In the spring of the year 1209, all the fanatics who had taken arms at the preaching of the monks of Citeaux, began to assemble on the borders of Languedoc; the land was spread in beauty before them, ere long it was to be a howling wilderness. Raymond VI. sank into abject cowardice; he yielded up his castles, he promised implicit submission to the legate, he even allowed himself to be publicly beaten with rods before the altar, as a penance for his errors. As a reward for his humiliation, he was permitted

to serve in the ranks of the crusaders, and to act as their guide in the war against his nephew.

Raymond Roger showed a bolder spirit; finding the papal legate implacable, he summoned his barons together, and having stated all his exertions to preserve peace, made a stirring appeal to their generosity and their patriotism. All resolved on an obstinate defence; even those who adhered to the Church of Rome justly dreaded the excesses of a fanatical horde eager to shed blood, and gratify a ruffian thirst for plunder. The crusaders advanced: some castles and fortified towns were abandoned to them; others not subject to the imputation of heresy were allowed to ransom themselves; Villemur was burned, and Chasseneuil, after a vigorous defence, capitulated. The garrison was permitted to retire, but all the inhabitants suspected of heresy, male and female, were committed to the flames amid the ferocious shouts of the conquerors, and their property abandoned to the soldiery.

Beziers was the next object of attack; the citizens resolved to make a vigorous resistance, but they were routed in a sally by the advanced guard of the crusaders, and so vigorously pursued, that the conquerors and conquered entered the gates together. The leaders, before taking advantage of their unexpected success, asked the Abbot of Citeaux how they should distinguish Catholics from heretics; the legate's memorable answer was, "Kill all: God will distinguish those who belong to him-

self." His words were too well obeyed; every inhabitant of Beziers was ruthlessly massacred, and when the town was thus one immense slaughter-house, it was fired, that its ruins and ashes might become the monument of papal vengeance.

Carcasonne was now the last stronghold of Raymond Roger, and it was gallantly defended by the young viscount. Simon de Montfort, the leader of the crusaders, found himself foiled by a mere youth, and was detained for eight days before he could master the suburbs and invest the town.

Peter II., King of Arragon, whom the Viscount of Albi and Beziers recognised as his suzerain, took advantage of this delay to interfere in behalf of the young lord, who was his nephew as well as his vassal. The legate, unwilling to offend so powerful a sovereign, accepted his mediation, but when asked what terms would be granted to the besieged, he required that two-thirds of Carcasonne should be given up to plunder. Raymond Roger spurned such conditions; Peter applauded his courage, and personally addressed the garrison. "You know the fate that waits you; make a bold defence, for that is the best means of finally obtaining favourable terms." The prudence of this advice was proved by the legate's consenting to a capitulation; but when the viscount, trusting to the faith of the treaty, presented himself in the camp of the crusaders, he was treacherously arrested, and thrown, with his attendants, into prison. Warned by the fate of their

leader, the citizens of Carcasonne evacuated the town during the night, but some of the fugitives were overtaken by the cavalry of the crusaders; the legate selected a supply of victims from his prisoners; four hundred of them were burned alive, and about fifty were hanged.

It seemed that the object of the crusade was obtained; the Count of Toulouse had submitted to every condition, however humiliating; the Viscount of Narbonne abandoned every notion of resistance; and the gallant Lord of Beziers was a prisoner. The crusaders, too, began to grow weary of the war; the French lords were ashamed of the cruelties they had sanctioned, and the faith they had violated; the knights and common soldiers, having completed the term of their service, were anxious to revisit their homes. But the legate, Arnold, was still unsatisfied; he summoned a council of the crusaders, and tried to induce them to remain, in order that they might protect their conquests of Beziers and Carcasonne, the investiture of which he conferred on Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. But the greater part of the French nobles refused to remain longer, and Montfort had to defend his new acquisitions with the vassals from his own estates. The gallant Raymond Roger was detained a close prisoner in his own baronial hall at Carcasonne, where he soon died, the victim of a dysentery, produced by grief, or, as was generally suspected, by poison.

The armies of the crusaders withdrew; they left a desert, and called it peace; but the sufferings of the Albigenses were not exhausted; the monks of the Inquisition, attended by trains of executioners, went at their will through the land, torturing and butchering all who were suspected of heresy. Nor were the monks of Citeaux idle; they had found honour and profit in preaching a crusade, and they were not disposed to relinquish the lucrative employment. Thus a new crusade was preached when there was no enemy to combat, and new hordes of fanatics were poured into Languedoc. They forced their chiefs to renew the war, that the exertions of those who profited by preaching extermination should not be lost, and that the bigotry of those who hoped to purchase their salvation by murder should not remain ungratified.

Strengthened by these reinforcements, Simon de Montfort threw off the mask of moderation, and declared war against the unfortunate Count of Toulouse. Raymond was once more excommunicated, and his dominions placed under an interdict. But the Earl of Leicester soon found that he had been premature in his hostilities; the King of Arragon refused to receive his homage for the Viscounties of Beziers and Carcasonne, declaring that he would support the claims of the legitimate heir, Raymond Trencanel, the only son of the unfortunate Raymond Roger, a child about two years old, who was safe under the guardianship of the Count de Foix. A

dangerous insurrection was raised in the states so recently assigned to Montfort; and out of the two hundred towns and castles that had been granted to him, eight alone remained in his possession.

The Count of Toulouse was too much afraid of ecclesiastical vengeance to defend himself by arms; he sought the protection of the King of France, and he went in person to Rome to implore absolution. Innocent promised him pardon on condition of his clearing himself from the charge of heresy and of participation in the murder of Castelnau; but when he presented himself before the council, he found that his judges had been gained over by his inexorable enemy, the Abbot of Citeaux, and instead of being permitted to enter on his defence, he was overwhelmed by a series of new and unexpected charges. His remonstrances were neglected, his tears afforded theme for mockery and insult, and the sentence of excommunication was formally ratified.

In the mean time the crusaders, under Simon de Montfort, pursued their career of extermination; those whom the sword spared fell by the hands of the executioner; and the ministers of a God of peace were found more cruel and vindictive than a licentious soldiery. Even the King of Arragon became alarmed, and sought to secure the friendship of the papal favourite, by affiancing his infant son to a daughter of De Montfort. The monarch probably expected that, by this concession, he would obtain more favourable terms for Raymond, and he

accompanied the count to Arles, where a provincial council was assembled. The terms of peace fixed by the legate were so extravagant, not to say absurd, that even Raymond rejected them, and secretly withdrew from the city in company with the King of Arragon. Once more the count was excommunicated, pronounced an enemy of the Church and an apostate from the faith, and declared to have forfeited his title and estates.

The war was now resumed with fresh vigour; after a long siege, De Montfort took the strong castle of Lavaur by assault, hanged its brave governor, the Lord of Montreal, and massacred the entire garrison. "The lady of the castle," says the Romish historian, "who was an execrable heretic, was, by the earl's orders, thrown into a well, and stones heaped over her: afterwards, the pilgrims collected the numberless heretics that were in the fortress, and burned them alive with great joy."

The same cruelties were perpetrated at every other place through which the crusaders passed; and the friends of the victims took revenge, by intercepting convoys, and murdering stragglers. It was not until he had received a large reinforcement of pilgrims from Germany, that the Earl of Leicester ventured to lay siege to Toulouse. Raymond, in this extremity, displayed a vigour and courage, which if he had manifested in the earlier part of the war, would probably have saved his country from ruin. He made so vigorous a defence, that the

crusaders were forced to raise the siege, and retire with some precipitation.

The friendship between the monks of Citeaux and the crusaders soon began to be interrupted by the ambition of the former. Under pretence of reforming the ecclesiastical condition of Languedoc, they expelled the principal prelates, and seized for themselves the richest sees and benefices. The legate, Arnold, took for his share the archbishopric of Narbonne, after which he abandoned Montfort, and went to lead a new crusade against the Moors in Spain. Innocent III. himself paused for a moment in his career of vengeance, and, at the instance of the King of Arragon, promised Raymond the benefit of a fair trial. But it is easier to rouse than to allay the spirit of fanaticism; disobeyed by his legates, and reproached by the crusaders, the pope was compelled to retrace his steps, and abandon Raymond to the fury of his enemies.

The King of Arragon came to the aid of his unfortunate relative, and encountered the formidable army of the crusaders at Muret; but he was slain in the beginning of the battle; the Spanish chivalry, disheartened by his fall, took to flight; and the infantry of Toulouse, thus forsaken, could offer no effective resistance. Trampled down by the pilgrim-knights, the citizens of Toulouse, who followed their sovereign to the field, were either cut to pieces, or drowned in the waters of the Garonne.

Philip Augustus had triumphed over his enemies,

the King of England and the Emperor of Germany, just when the victory of Muret seem to have confirmed the power of De Montfort. But the ambitious adventurer derived little profit from his success, for the court of Rome began to dread the power of its creature (A. D. 1215). His influence with the papal legates and the prelates who had directed the crusade was, however, still very great, and he procured from the council of Montpellier the investiture of Toulouse and all the conquests made by "the Christian pilgrims." Philip Augustus was by no means disposed to acquiesce in this arrangement; he sent his son Louis with a numerous army into the south of France, under pretence of joining in the crusade, but really to watch the proceedings of De Montfort. Louis subsequently returned to accept the proffered crown of England, and the quarrel in which this proceeding involved him with the pope diverted his attention from Languedoc.

Arnold of Citeaux, having returned from his Spanish crusade, took possession of his archbishopric of Narbonne, where he began to exercise the rights of a sovereign prince. Simon de Montfort, who had taken the title of Duke of Narbonne in addition to that of Count of Toulouse, denied that his old companion in arms had a right to temporal jurisdiction; he entered the city by force, and erected his ducal standard. Arnold fulminated an excommunication against De Montfort, and placed the city under

an interdict whilst he remained in it; he found, however, to his great surprise and vexation, that these weapons were contemned by the formidable champion of the Church. But a more vigorous enemy appeared in the person of Raymond VII., son of the Count of Toulouse, who, in conjunction with his father, made a vigorous effort to recover the ancient inheritance of his race. Simon de Montfort, contrary to his own better judgment, was induced by Foulke, Bishop of Toulouse, to treat the citizens with treacherous cruelty for showing some symptoms of affection to their ancient lord; the consequence was, that they took advantage of his absence to invite Raymond to resume his power; and on the 13th of September, 1217, the count was publicly received into his ancient capital amid universal acclamations.

Simon, by the aid of the papal legate and the clergy, was able to collect a large army, but the bravest of the crusaders had either fallen in the preceding wars, or returned disgusted to their homes. Every one now knew that heresy was extinguished in Languedoc, and that the war was maintained only to gratify private revenge and individual ambition. De Montfort laid siege to Toulouse, but he was slain in a sally of the inhabitants, and his son Almeric, after a vain effort to revenge his death, retired to Carcasonne.

The Albigensian war was not ended by the death of its great leader. Almeric de Montfort sold his

claims over Languedoc to Louis VIII., King of France; and though this prince died in the attempt to gain possession of Toulouse, the war was so vigorously supported by the queen-regent, Blanche, that Raymond VII. submitted to his enemies, and his dominions were united to the crown of France (A. D. 1229). The Inquisition was immediately established in these unhappy countries, which have never since recovered completely from the calamities inflicted upon them by the ministers of papal vengeance.

Chapter X.

THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE POPES AND THE EMPEROR FREDERIC II.

From A. D. 1216 to A. D. 1270.

Honorius III. succeeded Innocent III. in the papacy, and though he possessed neither the talent nor the ambition of his predecessor, he showed that he was not less influenced by a despotic spirit. He had been before his accession in the service of Frederic II., and, with the usual insolence of a vulgar mind, he commenced his reign by a display of his power over his ancient master. On the death of Otho, Frederic had been freely recognised emperor by all the electors, but the pope refused to perform the ceremony of his coronation, unless he would resign the crown of Sicily to his son Henry, and undertake a new crusade. Frederic promised that he would restore the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, but he reserved to himself the choice of a proper time: Germany was much disturbed, and he thought his empire of more importance than Palestine. Honorius, bent on a crusade, sent his commands to every European sovereign; he forbade the King of France to aid his son in the conquest of England, threatened the King of Scotland if he wavered in his allegiance to the English crown,

summoned the Greek emperor of Thessalonica to liberate his Latin prisoners, and required both the King of Arragon and the young Count of Toulouse to purchase a reconciliation with the Church by serving against the Saracens. He then performed the ceremony of Frederic's coronation on that monarch's renewal of his vows.

The fifth crusade terminated as lamentably as all the preceding. Egypt was the object of attack; and the early operations of the Christian armies were crowned with success. But the papal legate insisted on having the supreme command; the Kings of Hungary, Cyprus, and Jerusalem, had the weakness to yield to a prelate utterly ignorant of warlike affairs, and the total ruin of the expedition was the necessary result (A. D. 1221). Honorius blamed Frederic's delay for this calamity, and summoned the emperor to perform his vows; but Frederic was too well aware that advantage would be taken of his absence to extend the papal usurpations in Italy, and he continued to amuse the pontiff by a pretended acquiescence. To gratify Honorius, the children of heretics were deprived of their right of inheritance, unless they gave information against their fathers; heresy was declared punishable by fire, but the judges were permitted to exercise the prerogative of mercy in certain cases, by cutting out the tongue instead of destroying life. Thus did policy and ambition aid the cruelties of fanaticism, for Frederic cared nothing about orthodoxy, and

only issued these sanguinary decrees to gain a temporary truce with the pope.

The misunderstanding between the two potentates, however, continued to increase. Frederic was resolved to be in reality, as well as in name, the master of the empire; Honorius was as steadfastly determined to preserve and extend the papal power, by removing the only prince by whom it would be effectually checked. In vain did the pope effect a marriage between the emperor and the heiress to the kingdom of Jerusalem; in vain did he insist on the disgrace that Frederic incurred by abandoning his matrimonial crown to the infidels: the sagacious prince attended solely to his domestic interests, he refused to admit the bishops nominated by the pope into Apulia, disconcerted the second Lombard league which had been secretly organized, and made vigorous preparations for a war which the death of Honorius alone prevented.

Gregory IX. succeeded to the papal chair, and to more than his predecessor's hostility against Frederic. But the emperor was now on the point of embarking for the Holy Land, and it was necessary to be cautious in attacking a soldier of the cross. Severe illness compelled Frederic to delay his expedition for a year, upon which Gregory excommunicated him as a perjurer and a deserter. The emperor replied by a violent manifesto against the Holy See, unmasking its avarice, its ambition, and its exactions, the rapacity of its legates, and the venality of the

entire court of Rome. He then sailed for Palestine, to show the injustice of the anathemas to which he had been subjected.

Gregory excommunicated the emperor afresh for daring to sail before he had received absolution. He did more: in his vindictive frenzy he exerted himself to defeat the objects of the crusade, the emperor's soldiers were urged to betray him, and the patriarch of Jerusalem pronounced an interdict against every place occupied by the German army. Frederic consented that orders should not be issued in his name, but this condescension failed to appease the wrath of Gregory; he sent hosts of Dominican monks to preach a crusade against him, while John de Brienne, the nominal King of Jerusalem, invaded the dominions of a son-in-law who was employed in recovering his own kingdom. On receiving this intelligence, Frederic concluded an equitable treaty with the Sultan Melek Kamel, crowned himself at Jerusalem, for no ecclesiastic would perform the ceremony, and returned to Europe, after having effected more for the Christians of Palestine than any of their former protectors. Gregory again hurled anathemas against a prince who had made a treaty with the infidels; but Frederic's vigorous exertions soon changed the aspect of affairs, he reduced those who had rebelled during his absence, dispersed the papal and Lombard troops, and won absolution by his victories.

Between two such potentates as Frederic and

Gregory, peace could neither be sincere nor of long duration. The pope secretly instigated the Lombard cities to renew their league of independence, the emperor encouraged seditions at Rome, thus attacking Gregory with his own weapons (A.D. 1239). A fresh cause of animosity soon appeared; Frederic conferred the sovereignty of Sardinia on his natural son Hentius; the pope insisted that all islands were the heritage of the Holy See, and denounced Frederic as a usurper. No attention was paid to the papal claims, upon which Gregory declared the disobedient prince dethroned, absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and tendered the empire to Robert, Count d'Artois, brother of Louis IX., King of France.

Louis IX., who has been exalted to the rank of a saint, was nurtured in the bosom of fanaticism. In his youth he had seen the crusade against the Albigenses brought to a conclusion by his mother, the queen-regent; and he had derived his first instructions from the prelates who had established the Inquisition, and enacted the most sanguinary laws against heresy in the councils of Narbonne and Toulouse. His first ordinances were stained with ferocious and almost savage bigotry, and he had witnessed their execution on some unfortunate wretches accused of blasphemy and heresy. But Louis had very exalted notions of kingly authority; he justly believed that the crown of France would be endangered if the imperial crown was placed at the mercy of the pontiff, and he refused Gregory's offer. But

at the same time, he declared that he was assured of Frederic's orthodoxy, thus tacitly confessing that heresy might have been a ground of forfeiture. It was at this time that the Mongols, bursting forth from the distant deserts of central Asia, menaced eastern Europe with ruin; the King of Hungary, assailed by these ferocious hordes, applied for aid; the pope gave him blessings, and the emperor promises; both were too much engaged by their private interests to regard the dangers that menaced Christendom. Gregory was preparing to assemble a general council to depose the emperor, and Frederic was securing the passes through which the bishops should travel, when the death of the pope seemed to promise a restoration of tranquillity.

After an interregnum of two years, a cardinal of the Ghibelline, or imperial faction, was chosen to the papacy, under the name of Innocent IV.; but he, like his predecessors, adopted the Guelphish policy, and, unable to compete with Frederic in the field, tried to baffle him by negotiation. But the increasing strength of the imperial forces alarmed the crafty pontiff; he fled from Rome to Genoa, his native place, and, not believing himself safe even in that city, he asked for an asylum from the kings of England, France, and Arragon. All three refused to admit into their dominions a pontiff equally clever and imperious, who seemed determined to command kings, to tax the clergy, and to crush the people. Disguising his resentment, Innocent went to the

free city of Lyons, assembled a council, and procured the solemn deposition of Frederic. The greater part of the German nobles protested against the papal decree, and preserved their allegiance, but the ecclesiastical electors, in obedience to the papal mandate, chose Henry, Landgrave of Thuringia, and, on his defeat, William, Count of Holland, for their sovereign. The whole empire was involved in civil war, and treason and perjury were preached by the monks, as essential doctrines of Christianity.

It is gratifying to find that these perversions of the Gospel did not pass without reproof, though we may be justly surprised to see the vicar of Mohammed instructing the successor of St. Peter. Melek Saleh was instigated by the pope to violate the truce which Frederic had concluded with his father. He returned the following memorable reply:—"We have received your letter, and heard your ambassador; he has spoken to us of Jesus Christ, whom we know better than you do, and whom we honour more reverently. You say that it is your wish to establish peace among all nations; it is ours also. You know that there is a treaty and strict friendship between us and the emperor, established in the time of our father, on whom be peace! It is, therefore, impossible for us to make any treaty with Christian powers, unless we have the consent of that prince." This was not the only triumph of Frederic; Louis IX., having vainly offered his mediation, retired to his own estates, and the King of England,

notwithstanding the recent example of John's humiliation, refused to allow the pope to levy any contributions on his dominions.

But though Innocent IV. showed that he inherited the ambition of his predecessors, he set a rare example of toleration, by taking the Jews under his protection, and addressing letters to the principal prelates of Germany and Italy, in which he refuted the atrocious calumnies invented to excuse the robbery and murder of that persecuted people.

The pope's inveterate hostility to Frederic was one of the chief causes that led to the ruin of the crusade of Louis IX. in Egypt. At the moment that Louis sailed, Innocent was preaching a crusade against the emperor in Europe, and the Dominicans were stimulating their hearers to rebellion and assassination. The lamentable loss of the French army, the captivity of the "most Christian king," and the utter ruin of the Latin kingdom in Palestine, failed to shake the obstinacy of the pontiff. It seemed even that the death of Frederic redoubled his fury, as if his prey had escaped from his hands. "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad," was his address to the clergy of Sicily, "for the lightning and the tempest, wherewith God Almighty has so long menaced your heads, have been changed, by the death of this man, into refreshing zephyrs, and fertilizing dews."

Conrad assumed the imperial title on the death of his father, and was immediately assailed by the pope.

A crusade was preached against the young emperor, and greater indulgences offered than were granted to those who served in Palestine; the empire was offered to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of the King of England, and afterwards to Charles, Duke of Anjou, brother of the King of France. Germany was torn in sunder by civil wars; the clergy took arms against the laity, and the laity against the clergy; the queen-regent of France was alarmed, and, notwithstanding her bigoted attachment to the papacy, prevented the crusade against Conrad from being preached in her son's dominions; and Louis IX., on his return from Palestine, adopted the same policy.

Conrad's unexpected death did not diminish the papal hatred to his family. So rooted, at this period, was the belief in the pontifical virtues, that Conrad, persecuted, excommunicated, and hunted by the pope, had the weakness to bequeath his infant son, Conradin, to the mercy of Innocent IV. The pontiff prepared to seize this opportunity of ruining the house of Suabia; he proceeded to take possession of the Neapolitan dominions, while Manfred, the natural son of Frederic, and guardian of Conradin, sought refuge with the Saracens of Luceria. Aided by these warriors, Manfred was beginning to become formidable, when the death of Innocent at Naples, delivered Conradin from his most vindictive enemy, and Christendom from the most ambitious and turbulent of pontiffs.

Alexander IV. became pope at a period when Europe was convulsed by wars in almost every quarter. He had neither the energies nor the talents of Innocent, and he found himself unable to contend alone against Manfred, who had usurped the crown of Sicily. He offered the investiture of the island to Prince Edward, son of the English king, Henry III., and absolved him from his vow of undertaking a crusade, on condition of his warring against Manfred. Urban IV., the next pontiff, followed the same course of policy, but finding the English prince involved in domestic troubles, he engaged him to resign his claim to Sicily, on condition of the pope's excommunicating the barons who attempted to enforce the observance of Magna Charta. The investiture of Sicily was then given to Charles of Anjou, brother of the King of France.

Clement IV. was the next pontiff; he ascended the throne with a firm determination to destroy Manfred, who, warned of Urban's machinations, had attacked the Patrimony of St. Peter (A. D. 1265). At his invitation, Charles repaired to Rome with a large body of forces, performed liege homage to the pope, and marched towards Naples, to seize his new dominions. Manfred encountered the invaders at Beneventum, but was defeated and slain. The ferocious victor murdered the wife, the sister, and the children of his rival, and the whole of his reign was in perfect accordance with its sanguinary commencement.

The cruelties of the Duke of Anjou, the insolence and exactions of his followers, and the denial of redress to the injured, led the Italians to invite young Conradin to assert the hereditary claims of his family. At the age of sixteen this brave prince entered Italy, where he was enthusiastically received. He pursued his course in spite of papal excommunications, and obtained possession of Rome. But the Italians were not able to compete with the French in the field; when Conradin encountered Charles, his followers broke at the first onset, and he remained a prisoner. The Duke of Anjou subjected the young prince to the mockery of a trial, and commanded him to be executed. On the scaffold Conradin behaved with a courage worthy of his cause and of his race. He saw, without a shudder, the head of his cousin, Frederic of Austria, struck off by the executioner; and before he stooped to the fatal blow, he threw his glove into the midst of the crowd, a gage of defiance and of vengeance.

Thus fell the last prince of the house of Suabia, which had long been the most formidable obstacle to papal usurpation. The triumph of the papacy appeared complete: Italy was severed from the German empire; but the peninsula recovered its independence only to be torn in sunder by factions; the Church did not succeed to the empire, and the pontiffs found that the spirit of freedom, which they had themselves nurtured, was a more formidable foe than the sovereigns of Germany.

Chapter XI.

THE SICILIAN AND NEAPOLITAN WARS.

From A. D. 1270 to A. D. 1294.

Charles of Anjou made a cruel use of his victory; the partisans of the house of Suabia were sought out and punished as traitors; those who abandoned Conradin in the field were dragged to the scaffold, and Italy seemed to be one great scene of butchery and torture. Louis IX. made no effort to restrain his brother's tyranny; he regarded the victims as enemies of God and man, because they were under sentence of excommunication; and he was himself preparing for a new crusade, destined to be even more calamitous than his former expedition. Clement IV. did not long survive his victory: it is said, that remorse for his participation in the murder of Conradin, hastened his end, especially as Charles of Anjou was fast relaxing in his attachment to the interests of the Holy See.

This prince almost openly aimed at the complete sovereignty of Italy. Under the modest title of Imperial Vicar, he usurped supreme power: he projected the overthrow of the Greek empire, which had just been restored by Michael Palæologus, and might have succeeded, but that the popes began to dread their creature more than the enemies he had

subdued. Gregory X. was eager to rouse Christendom to a new crusade, and to terminate the schism that divided the Greek and Latin Churches. To effect these objects, it was necessary to restrain the ambition of the Duke of Anjou; but the pontiff was unable to compete with this dangerous leader in the field, and therefore applied to secret intrigues and the arts of deception. His most decisive stroke of generalship was, to procure the election of a new western emperor; he persuaded the German nobles and prelates to set aside Alphonso of Castille, and choose Rodolph of Hapsburgh for their sovereign. Charles was thus deprived of the power which he derived from the title of imperial vicar, and Gregory secured a powerful protector against the effects of his ingratitude and his hostility.

But the designs of Charles were not confined to the dominion of Naples, or even Italy: he had given his daughter in marriage to the son of Baldwin II., the dethroned Emperor of Constantinople, and he had purchased the imaginary rights of Mary of Antioch to the kingdom of Jerusalem; by uniting both claims, he trusted to make himself Emperor of the East. But money was necessary for the accomplishment of such gigantic plans; he was therefore obliged to levy the most onerous imposts on his subjects in Sicily and Naples. His ministers and his officers, as merciless as their master, and still more avaricious, gave themselves up to every sort of excess; they regarded neither the life of man, nor

the honour of woman; Sicily was reduced to a state of miserable slavery, and the ambition of a single man brought countless calamities on all his subjects. But a new enemy soon appeared to oppose the projects of Charles, possessing ambition equal to his own, backed by the power of the Holy See (A. D. 1277). Nicholas III. was elected pope; he brought to the chair of St. Peter all the pride that illustrious birth and the pretensions to unreserved empire could inspire, but he was a fatal enemy to the duration of papal power, for he introduced the cankering system of nepotism.

No sooner was Nicholas enthroned, than he renewed his predecessor's negotiations with the Emperor Rodolph. This prince had sworn to lead a crusade, and he was willing to make large concessions that he might procure absolution from a vow which he had no longer any inclination to accomplish. Charles of Anjou could not compete against such a coalition; he resigned the title of imperial vicar to gratify Rodolph, and that of Roman senator, which gave offence to the pontiff. The first emperor of the house of Hapsburgh did not display much firmness or talent; he yielded to every demand of Nicholas, and confirmed the grants which had been made to the Holy See, by Charlemagne and his successors. Ignorant of his hereditary rights, he permitted the provinces which Rome called the Patrimony of St. Peter, to be entirely separated from the empire; and as his officers, more

energetic than himself, had received the allegiance of some of these cities, he formally renounced the sovereignty, and absolved the magistrates from their oaths of fidelity.

Nicholas III. had thus formed the papacy into a kingdom, without perceiving that he thus restricted his dominion to the limits of the new state. But when once the pope was enrolled in the catalogue of sovereigns, his indefinite power was gone; he had no longer the command of any forces but those of his own dominions, and as his state was inferior to that of kings, he could no longer address them as a master. Thus short-sighted ambition defeated its own ends, for the papacy assigned itself frontiers. Supported by the emperor, Nicholas proclaimed, that, for the future, no emperor, king, or powerful prince, should be elected senator or patrician of Rome, nor invested with the government of the city. This was intended as a declaration to Charles, that his rule in Italy was at an end: but this was not the only evidence of the change of feeling towards the house of Anjou, manifested by the new master of the Holy See. Nicholas had asked the hand of a daughter of Charles for one of his nephews, and the King of Naples had contemptuously rejected the alliance; such an insult could not be pardoned, and the pontiff secretly resolved on vengeance.

The tyranny of Charles had alienated the affections of his subjects, and, while he was preparing to conquer an empire, a conspiracy had been formed to

deprive him of his kingdom. A physician, named Procida, who had been the intimate friend of the Emperor Frederic II., nourished a profound hatred for the murderer of Conradin, and excited Peter of Arragon to avenge his relatives, and assert his claim to their inheritance. This bold conspirator visited Constantinople, to secure the aid of the Greek Emperor; and then entered Rome, disguised as a monk, to rouse the pope's anger for the recent affront he had received. The Sicilians had been already prepared for revolt, and the signal for an outbreak was about to be given, when the death of Nicholas III. delivered Charles from his most formidable enemy.

The King of Naples seized the opportunity of procuring the election of a pontiff favourable to his cause; he marched to Viterbo, arrested the three Orsini, nephews of the late pontiff, and so intimidated the cardinals, that they chose a Frenchman, who took the title of Martin IV. Unlike any of his predecessors, Martin showed very little regard for the interests of the papacy; his chief object seemed to be the extension of the power of his patron. The senatorial dignity was again conferred on the Duke of Anjou, and sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the Emperor of Constantinople. These measures tended to revive the old feuds between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, which had so often devastated Italy, and they

hastened the resolution of the King of Arragon to assert his claims upon Sicily.

Charles trusted that the papal menaces and anathemas would greatly facilitate his conquest of the Greek empire, but they had only the effect of throwing Palæologus into the arms of his own subjects, whose favour he regained by abandoning his unpopular plans for forming a union with the Latin Church. Procida, instead of being daunted by the adverse change in the papacy, was stimulated to fresh exertions; he induced the King of Arragon to accelerate his preparations, and he urged his countrymen to strike a decisive blow. While Charles, ignorant of these machinations, was consulting with the pope at Orvieto, the fatal bell of the Sicilian Vespers had sounded at Palermo. On the evening of Easter Monday, A. D. 1282, the Sicilians, at the signal of the bell for vesper service, flew to arms, massacred all the French in the island, and even murdered their own countrywomen who had become attached to the hated foreigner.

When these news reached Orvieto, the rage of Charles knew no bounds; at his instigation, the pope excommunicated the Sicilians, and all who were suspected of encouraging their revolt; an army was hastily assembled, and close siege laid to Messina. The citizens, affrighted by the threats of the papal legate and the boastings of the French, offered to surrender, on assurance of safety; but the

conditions dictated by Charles were so severe, that they took courage from despair, and maintained a vigorous defence, until the arrival of the King of Arragon delivered them from their merciless sovereign and his host of executioners.

Martin excommunicated the King of Arragon, and placed his kingdom under an interdict; and, finding these measures ineffectual, he preached a crusade against him, and gave the investiture of his states to the Count of Valois, second son of the King of France. He proclaimed Charles of Anjou champion of the Holy Church, and declared that this sanguinary tyrant was a prince chosen by God himself. The pope, who thus bestowed crowns, and exonerated subjects from their allegiance, was unable to maintain himself in his own capital; and, while he hoped to humble kings, could not enforce the obedience of the Roman citizens. But this is not the only instance of a similar anomaly in the history of the papacy. Peter of Arragon, feigning obedience, exchanged his title of king for that of a simple knight, retaining, however, all the power of royalty; but dreading the succours that the King of France sent to his uncle more than the papal menaces, he sought out means of gaining time to organize the defence of Sicily. Knowing the vain-glorious disposition of his rival, Peter proposed that Charles and he, with a hundred knights at each side, should decide their respective titles in a combat, near Bordeaux. The Duke of Anjou, elated by the hopes

of a duel with a prince who added to his modest title, "Knight of Arragon," the sounding designations, "Lord of the Seas, and Father of Three Kings," accepted the terms; and, while he prepared for the expected field, neglected his preparations for war. Martin fulminated against the duel, single combats being forbidden by the Church; but Peter had never intended to expose himself to the chance, and on the appointed day, Charles discovered, from the non-appearance of his adversary, that he had been baffled by superior policy, perhaps we should rather say, perfidy.

Martin more than shared the indignation of his favourite; he renewed the preaching of the crusade against Peter, granting to all who fought in the papal cause the same indulgences assigned to those who joined in the expeditions for the recovery of Palestine; and he sent ambassadors, urging the French king to hasten the invasion of Arragon. It is not easy to conceive how monarchs could be blind to the consequences of accepting these proffered crowns; they thus recognised the principle of the pope's right to depose sovereigns, and sanctioned a power which might at any time be employed against themselves or their successors. But the lessons of prudence are slow in penetrating hearts fascinated by ambition or fanaticism.

The anathemas of Martin did not deprive Peter of his crown; they scarcely even checked the current of his fortunes. All his subjects, clergy, nobles,

and commons, ostentatiously displayed their attachment to their sovereign, and laughed the papal decrees to scorn. The Arragonese admiral defeated the fleet of the Duke of Anjou within sight of Naples, and made his son, Charles the Lame, a prisoner (A. D. 1284). This scion of a detested race would not have escaped the fury of the Messinians, who wished to sacrifice him in revenge for the murder of Conradin, only for the generous interference of Queen Constance, Manfred's daughter, who rescued him from the fury of the populace, and sent him for security to Catalonia. Charles of Anjou did not long survive this calamity; the remembrance of his former triumphs and prosperity, his pride, his contempt for his enemies, and shame for having been baffled by policy, aggravated the mortification of a defeat which he no longer had power to retrieve.

Charles the Lame, Prince of Salerno, was a prisoner in Arragon, but the Duke of Anjou bequeathed the guardianship of the kingdom of Naples to his nephew, Robert, Count of Artois. But the pope did not forget his claims; he united a cardinal to Robert in the administration, ordering that they should jointly direct the administration during the captivity of Charles II., recognising the superior sovereignty of the pontiff, and establishing an appeal from the regents to the tribunals of the Holy See.

This was the last ordinance in the papacy of

Martin*; his successor, Honorius IV., pursued the same course of policy with even greater zeal. In order to defray the expenses incurred by Charles of Anjou, Martin had diverted from their original destination the subsidies imposed by the council of Lyons on the nations of Christendom to form a crusading fund. We have on more than one occasion noticed this abuse of authority; it was more in accordance with the Roman policy to punish the enemies of the popes, than to defend the Christians in Asia; and the Mussulmans frequently owed, not merely their repose, but their victories, to such acts of felony committed by the successors of St. Peter. The French king, the inheritor of the superstition of his father, St. Louis, but not of his firmness or his courage, was resolved to consummate the fault he had committed in accepting the kingdom of Arragon for his son; Honorius IV., rejoiced to find so potent a monarch yielding to the delusions of papal supremacy, plundered the common stock of

* During the papacy of Martin IV., a singular circumstance at Padua serves to show the low estate of ecclesiastical morals in this age. The senate of that city, wearied by the insolence and profligacy of the clergy, passed a law, that the murder of a priest should only be punished by a fine of one penny! Many persons who had wrongs to redress soon incurred the trifling forfeiture; complaint was made to the pope, who excommunicated the senate, and placed the city under an interdict. The obnoxious decree was repealed, but Padua continued for several years subject to ecclesiastical penalties.

Christendom to supply funds for the war, while the Emperor Rodolph in vain protested against the usurpation and the robbery. But subsidies and anathemas equally failed to bow the spirits of the bold Arragonese; in spite of the death of Peter, the French, totally defeated in a naval engagement, were forced to abandon their unjust enterprise (A D. 1286). The second son of Peter of Arragon succeeded him on the throne of Sicily; neither he nor his mother exhibited the least sign of repentance or submission, which so annoyed Honorius, that he three times excommunicated the entire family. When the belligerent sovereigns, weary of the harassing war, had concluded a treaty, by which Naples was assigned to Charles II. of Anjou, and Sicily to James of Arragon, the pontiff on his dying bed launched bitter invectives against Charles for sacrificing an inheritance under the guardianship of the Holy See, and declared the articles of the treaty null and void.

Alphonso, King of Arragon, cared little for these demonstrations of papal wrath; he continued the negotiations, and liberated the captive Charles on his giving an oath that he would return to prison if the French did not abandon their claims to Arragon (A. D. 1288). Nicholas IV. declared that such stipulations were impious, he urged the princes of Valois to maintain their chimerical claims, and he absolved Charles from his oath, thus consecrating dishonour and perfidy.

Charles II., crowned King of Naples and Sicily by Pope Nicholas in person, received, during three years, the Neapolitan revenues, and even the papal reserves, to aid him in the conquest of Sicily; the pontiff deeming himself bound to support the perjury he had suggested by all the aid he could bestow. Whilst the pope kindled this new war, whilst he attacked the Emperor Rodolph for having given the investiture of Hungary to his son Albert, asserting that Hungary was a fief of the Holy See, the cities of Tripoli and Ptolemais, the last strongholds of the Christians in the East, fell into the hands of the Mussulmans (A. D. 1291). This event filled the mind of Nicholas with shame and sorrow; he invited the Christian princes, disunited by his pretensions, or his instigations, to undertake a new crusade. But even at such a crisis, the pope could not abstain from his old policy. He excited troubles in Portugal, by asserting a right of interference in the domestic affairs of that kingdom; he forbade James to enter on the inheritance of his brother Alphonso of Arragon, because that prince was still subject to ecclesiastical censures. Such edicts were disobeyed, but concord was banished from Europe; and war, with all its horrors, desolated Christendom at the voice of one who proclaimed himself the vicar of Him, whose advent was proclaimed to be the signal of "Peace upon earth, good will towards men.

After the death of Nicholas (A. D. 1292), the

papacy, as if exhausted by its own excesses, seemed to have fallen into a lethargy. The Holy See remained vacant for two years and three months; an interval which the heads of the Church might have improved to accommodate the ecclesiastical system to the improved state of intelligence, and the consequent changes in the wants and wishes of Europe. But, in an evil hour, they had adopted the doctrine of infallibility, and believed themselves bound to keep their system stationary while everything around was in progress. In a former age the papacy had taken the lead in the advancement of intelligence; the clergy and the friars were the missionaries of knowledge; but the Church had now fallen into the rear; kings, not pontiffs, were the patrons of learning; in the new contest between the spiritual and temporal powers, we shall find the latter conquering, because on their side were ranged all who took a share in the advancement of civilization. Intelligence, emancipated from the cloister, found a temporary abode in the palace, and finally spread even to the cottage; the popes became its enemies from the moment it quitted their protection, but they were necessarily vanquished in the struggle; one age beheld monarchs despise the deposing power, the next witnessed the pope's authority a mockery, and his very name a reproach in one-half of Europe.

The vacancy in the papacy became the signal for civil wars in Rome, and throughout Italy; superstition attributed these calamities to the cardinals,

who left the Church without a head: an insane hermit stimulated the populace to menace them with death unless they proceeded to an election, and they chose a feeble, ignorant, old fanatic, who took the name of Celestine IV. Though destitute of any other qualification, Celestine had at least the pride of a pontiff,—the bridle of the ass, on which, with blasphemous imitation, he made his public entry into Aquila, was held by two kings, Charles II., the perjured sovereign of Naples, and his son Charles Martel, nominal King of Hungary. But the cardinals soon became weary of an idiot monk forced upon them by an insane hermit; Benedict Cajetan worked upon the weak mind of Celestine to resign a dignity which he was unable to maintain, and, having previously gained the suffrages of the college, ascended the throne under the name of Boniface VIII.* In its altered circumstances, the papacy thus found a ruler who had fortitude and courage sufficient to maintain its pretensions against the kings who had now begun to discover their rights; but the defeat of the pontiff added one to the many examples that history affords of the failure of antiquated pretensions when opposed to common sense and common honesty.

* Almost the only thing memorable in the pontificate of Celestine, is the fabled miracle of the Chapel of Loretto, which was said to have been transported by angels from Nazareth to the place where it now stands, that it should not be polluted by the Saracens. This absurd story was long credited by the Romanists, but it is now derided even in Italy.

Chapter XII.

PONTIFICATE OF BONIFACE VIII.

From A. D. 1294 to A. D. 1305.

Most historians assert that Boniface had recourse to very treacherous artifices, in order to obtain the resignation of Celestine: however this may be, the abdicated pontiff was immediately shut up in a prison, lest his scruples, or his remorse, should trouble his successor. Boniface, to the ambition and despotic character of Gregory VII., added a more crafty manner, and more dissimulation, than had been recently seen in the chair of St. Peter. He aspired to universal sovereignty over ecclesiastics, princes, and nations; and he diligently sought out means for rendering them submissive to his laws. Aware that it would be impossible to revive the crusading passion in Europe, he resolved to make the recovery of Palestine a pretext for interfering in the quarrels of sovereigns. He wrote to Philip the Fair, King of France, to Edward I. of England, and to Adolphus, Emperor of Germany, commanding them, under pain of excommunication, to accommodate their differences; and he mediated a peace between the sovereigns of France and Arragon.

James, King of Arragon, anxious to conciliate the pope, resigned his pretensions to Sicily; but the

islanders, detesting the house of Anjou, and despising the commands of a sovereign who had so weakly abandoned his rights, crowned Frederic, the brother of James, at Palermo, and expelled the papal legates. Excommunications were fulminated against the Sicilians, and the sovereign of their choice; even the feeble James was induced to arm against his brother, and aid in his expulsion from the island; and this violation of natural ties was rewarded by the cession of Sardinia and Corsica, over which the pope had not a shadow of right. But the ambition of Boniface was not limited to bestowing islands and Italian principalities; he resolved to establish his authority over the most powerful sovereigns of Europe.

Philip the Fair was one of the most able monarchs in Christendom; resolute in establishing his influence over the great vassals of the crown, he strengthened himself by the support of his people, and resolved that the nobles and the clergy should, from henceforth, form classes of his subjects. Feudal anarchy disappeared, an equal jurisdiction was extended over all ranks, the lower classes were delivered from the most galling burdens of vassalage, and the despotism of the sovereign became a blessing to the nation. In the midst of his career he received an embassy from the pope, commanding him to spare a conquered vassal, to abstain from taxing the clergy, and to submit his disputes with the Count of Flanders to the arbitration of the Holy See. Philip spurned

these demands, upon which the pope issued the celebrated bull, called, from the words with which it commences, "*Clericis laicos*," excommunicating the kings who should levy ecclesiastical subsidies, and the priests who should pay them; and withdrawing the clergy from the jurisdiction of lay tribunals.

This attempt to establish a theocracy, independent of monarchy, excited general indignation. In England, Edward ordered his judges to admit no causes in which ecclesiastics were the complainants, but to try every suit brought against them, averring that those who refused to contribute to the support of the state, had no claim to the protection of the law. This expedient succeeded, and the English ecclesiastics hasted to pay their subsidies, without further compulsion. Philip the Fair exhibited even more vigour; he issued an edict prohibiting the export of gold, silver, jewels, provisions, or munitions of war, without a licence; and he forbade foreign merchants to establish themselves in his dominions. Boniface, aware that these measures would destroy the revenue which the court of Rome derived from France, remonstrated in urgent terms, explained away the most offensive parts of his former bull, and offered several advantages to the king, if he would modify his edicts. Philip allowed himself to be persuaded; the bull "*Clericis laicos*" was rendered less stringent: Louis IX. was canonized, and Philip could boast of having a saint for an ancestor; finally, the pope promised that he would support Charles of

Valois, as a candidate for the empire. Dazzled by these boons, the French monarch accepted the arbitration of the pope, in his disputes with the King of England, and the Count of Flanders. But Boniface, to his astonishment, decided that Guienne should be restored to England, that all his former possessions should be given back to the Count of Flanders, and that Philip himself should undertake a new crusade. When this unjust sentence was read in the presence of the French court, by the Bishop of Durham, Edward's ambassador, the king listened to it with a smile of contempt; but the Count of Artois, enraged at such insolence, snatched the bull, tore it in pieces, and flung the fragments into the fire. This was the only answer returned: Philip, heedless of the pope's anger, renewed the war.

Boniface VIII. little dreamed that Philip's resistance would be so energetic, or of such dangerous example; but he prepared for the coming struggle, by securing his authority in Italy, and especially in Rome, where the papal power had been long controlled by the factious nobles. Immediately after his elevation to the pontificate, he had caused himself to be elected senator, but the Ghibellines rendered the dignity of such a magistrate very precarious; it was necessary to destroy them, and in this instance personal vengeance was united to the projects of ambition. The leaders of the Ghibelline faction at Rome were the illustrious family of the Colonna; two cardinals of that name had strenuously

resisted the abdication of Celestine, and had long been marked out as victims. Under the pretext of their alliance with the Kings of Sicily and Arragon, they were summoned to appear before the papal tribunal; but, justly dreading that their doom was predetermined, they fled to their castles, protesting against the sentence of him whom they denied to be a legitimate pope. Boniface hurled the most terrible anathemas against them, declaring them infamous, excommunicate, and incapable of any public charge, to the fourth generation: he devoted them to the fires of the Inquisition, and preached a crusade for their destruction. Intimidated for a moment, the Colonnas submitted, and surrendered their town of Palestrina as a pledge of their fidelity. No sooner was Boniface master of this strong-hold, than, regardless of his oaths, he levelled the fortress to the ground, forbade it to be rebuilt, renewed his persecutions against the Colonnas, and compelled them to fly from Italy. They sought shelter at the court of France, where they were hospitably received by Philip, who thus gave a signal proof of his independence and his generosity.

Boniface was alarmed, but not dismayed; he resolved to lull the king's vigilance by stimulating his ambition: for this purpose he proposed to dethrone Albert, Emperor of Germany, and give the crown to Charles of Valois, whom he had already created imperial vicar, and captain-general of the Holy Church. Philip turned a deaf ear to this

tempting proposal; he even entered into alliance with Albert, and cemented the union by giving his sister in marriage to the emperor's son, Rodolph, Duke of Austria. Boniface was enraged by this disappointment, but his attention was diverted by the institution of a Jubilee, to mark the commencement of a new century (A. D. 1300). He published a bull, promising full pardon and remission of all sins to those who, being confessed and penitent, should visit the tombs of the apostles at Rome, during fifteen days. Multitudes of pilgrims, anxious to obtain the benefits of the crusades, without the perils of war, flocked to the city, and, by their liberal expenditure, greatly enriched the Romans. This profitable contrivance was renewed by the successors of Boniface, at intervals of fifty years, and proved to be an efficacious means of recruiting the papal treasury.

Scarcely had the Jubilee terminated, when the disputes between the pope and the King of France were revived, in consequence of the rival claims for supremacy, between the Archbishop and the Viscount of Narbonne. The king supported his vassal; the prelate appealed to the pope, and Boniface promptly responded to the call. A legate was sent to Philip, and the choice of an ambassador was almost a declaration of war. The pope's messenger was the Bishop of Pamiers, a rebellious subject, whose treasons were notorious, and whose insolence to his sovereign excited general indignation. The seditious

prelate was driven from the court; but the king, instead of bringing him to trial, complained to his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Narbonne, and demanded justice. Boniface addressed an insolent bull to the king, summoned the French bishops to meet at Rome, to consult respecting the doom that should be pronounced on their sovereign, and invited Philip himself to be present at this unprecedented conclave. But the king, supported by the legists or professors of the law, a body rising rapidly into importance, defied the papal power and appealed to the good sense of his people. Boniface had sent a bull, known in history by the name *Ausculta fili**, to France, in which all the delinquencies of Philip, not only towards the Church, but every class of his subjects, were portrayed with apparent moderation, but with great vigour and eloquence. Peter Flotte, the royal chancellor, presented an abridgement of this document to the great council of the nation, craftily culling out those passages in which the papal pretensions were most offensively put forward. This document, called "the little bull," was as follows:—

"Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Philip, King of the Franks. Fear God and keep his commandments. We desire you to know that you are subject to us in temporal as well as in spiritual affairs; that the appointment to benefices

* "Listen, son;" the words with which it commenced.

and prebends belongs not to you; that if you have kept benefices vacant, the profits must be reserved for the legal successors; and if you have bestowed any benefice, we declare the appointment invalid, and revoke it if executed. Those who oppose this judgment shall be deemed heretics."

Philip ordered this declaration to be publicly burned, and he published a memorable reply, which, however, was probably never sent to Rome. It is a very remarkable proof of the decline of the papal power, that such a manifesto should be issued, and presented to the States-general of France, as their monarch's answer to the supreme pontiff. The letter of the king is thus given by historians:—

"Philip, by the grace of God, King of the French, to Boniface, claiming to be pope, little or no greeting. May it please your sublime stupidity to learn, that we are subject to no person in temporal affairs; that the bestowing of fiefs and benefices belongs to us by right of our crown; that the disposal of the revenues of vacant sees, is part of our perogative; that our decrees, in this respect, are valid, both for the past and for the future; and that we will support with all our might, those on whom we have bestowed, or shall bestow, benefices. Those who oppose this judgment shall be deemed fools or idiots."

The manifestoes sent to Rome by the three orders of the States-general, the nobles, the clergy, and the commons, are of greater importance to the his-

torian, than "the little bull" or the royal reply. That of the French barons was addressed to the college of cardinals; it openly accused the pope of having periled the unity of the Church by his extravagant ambition, and it denied, in the strongest terms, his right to appellate jurisdiction over the kingdom of France. The clergy addressed Boniface himself in a measured and respectful tone, but they declared that they had taken a new oath to their sovereign, that they would maintain the independence of his crown. The declaration of the commons has not been preserved, but like that of the nobles, it appears to have been addressed to the college of cardinals. The court of Rome was alarmed, letters of explanation were sent to the different orders, but the pope declared he would not write to the king, whom he considered subject to the sentence of excommunication.

Whilst Boniface VIII. was thus engaged with France and its ruler, he did not lose sight of his pretensions over other kingdoms. Edward of England, having overcome the feudal turbulence of his vassals, was about to undertake the conquest of Scotland, when the Holy See forbade the enterprise. Edward in reply traced his right to Scotland, up to the age of the prophet Samuel, and a synod of the English clergy declared, that the claims of their sovereign were better founded than those of the pontiff. A legate, by command of Boniface, laboured to pacify Hungary, which was divided

between the grandson of Charles the Lame, King of Naples, and Andrew the Venetian. On the death of the latter prince, the Hungarian barons, fearing the loss of their liberties under a king imposed upon them by the Church, elected for their sovereign the son of the King of Bavaria, and he was solemnly crowned by the Archbishop of Colreza. The pope wrote fierce denunciations against the election, and even commanded the King of Bavaria to dethrone his own son. But though Hungary refused submission, the obedience of Spain consoled the pontiff; he declared the marriage of Sancho the Brave valid, after his death, and in consequence of this decision, Ferdinand IV., the eldest son of that monarch, was permitted to retain the kingdom of Castile.

Though Philip had ordered that the goods of all the clergy who quitted the kingdom should be confiscated, many of the prelates, braving the penalty, proceeded to the court of Rome. Conscious that this disobedience portended a struggle between the spiritual and temporal power, the French king took the unexpected precaution of denouncing the horrors of the Inquisition, and thus representing royalty as the shield of the people against the tyranny of the priesthood. Boniface, encouraged by the presence of the French bishops, yielded to the impetuosity of his passions, and issued the famous bull *Unam sanctam*, in which the claims of the papacy to universal dominion are stated with more strength

and precision than the court of Rome had yet ventured to use. After this document had been sanctioned by the council, a legate was sent to France, whose instructions contained the demand that the king should not oppose the prelates who wished to travel, the disposal of benefices by the Holy See, or the entrance of legates into his kingdom; that he should not confiscate the properties of ecclesiastics, nor bring them to trial before civil courts; that the king should appear in person at Rome, and answer to the charge of having burned a bull sealed with the effigies of the holy apostles; and finally, that he should recompense the losses occasioned by the depreciation of the currency, and abandon the city of Lyons to its archbishop, as an ecclesiastical fief. Philip the Fair, undaunted by the threat of excommunication, peremptorily rejected all these demands, and in his turn caused Boniface to be accused by William de Nogaret, the royal advocate, of usurpation, heresy, and simony. The advocate required that a general council should be summoned to investigate these charges, and that the pope should be detained in prison until his guilt or innocence should be decided.

Boniface was now seriously alarmed; when he ascended the throne, Celestine had declared "This cardinal, who stole like a fox into the chair of St. Peter, will have the reign of a lion, and the end of a dog;" his violence in the struggle with the King of France, tended to realize both predictions. But

it was necessary to obtain allies, and Frederick, King of Sicily, was won over to declare himself a vassal of the Holy See, by obtaining the recognition of his royal title, and absolution from the many anathemas hurled against him. The Emperor Albert was similarly prevailed upon to recognise the extravagant pretensions of the papacy, on obtaining a bull confirming his election; he even issued letters patent confessing that the imperial power was a boon conferred at the pleasure of the Holy See. Thus strengthened, Boniface laid aside all appearance of moderation, and solemnly excommunicated the contumacious King of France.

Philip on the other hand assembled the states of his realm at the Louvre, and presented to them a new act of accusation against Boniface, in which he was charged with the most detestable and unnatural crimes. It was voted that an appeal should be made to a new pope and a general council, and so general was the disapprobation of the pontiff's ambitious schemes, that the greater part of the French ecclesiastical dignitaries, including nine cardinals, sent in their adhesion to the appeal.

Boniface met the storm with firmness; he replied to the charges urged against him with more temper than could have been anticipated, but he secretly prepared a bull of excommunication, depriving Philip of his throne, and anathematizing his posterity to the fourth generation. This final burst of hostility was delayed until the 8th of September

(A. D. 1303), when the Romish Church celebrates the nativity of the blessed Virgin, and Boniface awaited the day in the city of Anagni.

On the eve of the Virgin's nativity the pope had retired to rest, having arranged his plans of vengeance for the following day; he was suddenly roused by cries of "Long live Philip! Death to Boniface!" Nogaret, at the command of the King of France, had entered Anagni with three hundred cavaliers, and being joined by some of the townsmen, was forcing his way into the palace. Sciarra Colonna and Nogaret rushed together into the chamber of Boniface; they found the old man clothed in his pontifical robes, seated on his throne, waiting their approach with unshaken dignity. They made him their prisoner, and prepared for his removal to France until a general council. But Nogaret having unwisely delayed three days at Anagni, the citizens and the neighbouring peasants united to liberate the pontiff; Colonna and his French allies were forced to abandon their prey, and could only save their lives by a rapid flight. Boniface hastened to Rome, but fatigue, anxiety, and vexation, brought on a violent fever, which soon put an end to his troubled life.

The reign of Boniface was fatal to the papal power; he exaggerated its pretensions at the moment when the world had begun to discover the weakness of its claims; in the attempt to extend his influence further than any of his predecessors,

he exhausted the sources of his strength, and none of his successors, however ardent, ventured to revive pretensions which had excited so many wars, shed so much blood, and dethroned so many kings. The priesthood and the empire, fatigued by so long and disastrous a struggle, desired tranquillity, but tranquillity was for the court of Rome a political death. The illusion of its own omnipotence vanished with the agitations by which it had been produced, and new principles of action began to be recognised in its policy.

The death of Boniface marks an important era in the history of popery; from this time we shall see it concentratiug its strength, and husbanding its resources; fighting only on the defensive, it no longer provokes the hostility of kings, or seeks cause of quarrel with emperors. The bulls that terrified Christendom must repose as literary curiosities in the archives of St. Angelo, and though the claims to universal supremacy will not be renounced, there will be no effort made to enforce them. A few pontiffs will be found now and then reviving the claims of Gregory, of Innocent, and of Boniface; but their attempts will be found desultory and of brief duration, like the last flashes, fierce but few, that break out from the ashes of a conflagration.

Benedict XI., the successor of Boniface, hasted to exhibit proofs of the moderation which results from defeat. Without waiting for any solicitation, he absolved Philip the Fair from the anathemas

fulminated against him by Boniface; recalled the Colonnas from exile, and encouraged the Roman people to restore the ancient inheritance of that illustrious family; finally, he exerted himself to reconcile the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Tuscany, but unfortunately without effect. His early death prepared the way for a new crisis, in which the political system of the papacy was destined to suffer greater shocks than any to which it had been yet exposed, and to give fresh proofs that it could not be improved, even by the stern lessons of adversity.

Chapter XIII.

HISTORY OF THE POPES DURING THEIR RESIDENCE AT AVIGNON.

From A. D. 1305 to A. D. 1378.

In their struggle with the German emperors, the popes, anxious to secure faithful partisans, had created many French cardinals, and these now formed a powerful party in the conclave. A community of interest engaged the Colonnas to join the foreigners in excluding a partisan of Boniface from the pontifical dignity, while the cardinals of the Guelph faction were eager to choose an Italian, who would take vengeance for the outrage at Anagni. The disputes between the parties protracted the election for several months, until at length it was proposed that the Guelphs should name three foreigners, from whom the Ghibellines should select a pontiff. Cardinal Cajetan, the nephew of Boniface, and head of the Guelphs, accepted the offer; he nominated three persons remarkable for their hostility to the King of France, and bound by the ties of gratitude to avenge the memory of his uncle.

Napoleon Orsini, the chief of the French and Ghibelline party, wrote to Philip the Fair, that Bertrand de Got, one of the three candidates, was accessible to the temptations of ambition, and that

he might be brought to consent to any conditions if assured of the papal throne. Philip arranged a secret interview with Bertrand, and, during the conference, contrived to change the hostile cardinal into a devoted servant. The king proposed to give his support to Bertrand on six conditions. 1. His own reconciliation to the Church. 2. The absolution of his followers and allies. 3. The enjoyment of the tithes of France for five years. 4. The authentic condemnation of the memory of Boniface VIII. 5. The re-establishment of the Colonnas. And, 6. The promise of granting a request, which, on account of its secresy and importance, should be deferred for a more fitting time and place. The archbishop swore to these conditions, and became pope, under the title of Clement V.

Clement's first care was to withdraw himself from the control of the cardinals, that he might gratify his favourite passion for amassing wealth. Avarice had succeeded ambition in the government of the Church. Instead of going to Rome, he established his seat at Avignon,—a city which had been subject to the popes since the Albigensian wars, and which proved one of the most fatal of their usurpations. Philip now insisted that the memory of Boniface should be stigmatized, and his bones disinterred and ignominiously burned. Clement was afraid to refuse; but, at the same time, he dreaded the scandal of such a proceeding, and the danger of such a precedent; he therefore resolved to temporize,

and persuaded Philip to adjourn the matter until a general council should be assembled. But some sacrifice was necessary to appease the royal thirst for vengeance, and the illustrious order of the Templars was sacrificed by the head of that Church it had been instituted to defend. On the 13th of October, 1307, all the knights of that order were simultaneously arrested; they were accused of the most horrible and improbable crimes; evidence was sought by every means that revenge and cupidity could suggest; the torture of the rack was used with unparalleled violence to extort confession; and sentence of condemnation was finally pronounced on these unfortunate men, whose only crime was the wealth of their order, and their adherence to the papal cause in the reign of Boniface.

The assassination of the Emperor Albert inspired Philip with the hope of procuring the crown of Charlemagne for his brother, and he hastened to Avignon to claim the promised aid of the pope. But though Clement had abandoned Italy to tyrants and factions, he had not resigned the hope of re-establishing the papal power over the peninsula, and he shuddered at the prospect of a French emperor reconciling the Guelphs and Ghibellines, crushing opposition by the aid of his royal brother, and fixing the imperial authority on a permanent basis; he therefore secretly instigated the German princes to hasten the election, and Henry VII. of Luxemburg was chosen at his suggestion. Though Henry pos-

sessed little hereditary influence, his character and talents secured him obedience in Germany; he had thus leisure to attend to the affairs of Italy, which no emperor had visited during the preceding half century. He crossed the Alps with a band of faithful followers; the cities and their tyrants, as if impressed by magic with unusual respect for the imperial majesty, tendered him their allegiance, and the peninsula, for a brief space, submitted to orderly government. But the rivalry of the chief cities, the ambition of powerful barons, and the intrigues of Clement, soon excited fresh commotions, which Henry had not the means of controlling.

The council of Vienne had been summoned for the posthumous trial of Boniface VIII., and an examination of the charges brought against the Templars (A. D. 1309). Twenty-three witnesses gave evidence against the deceased pontiff, and fully established the charges of profligacy and infidelity; but Clement's own immoralities were too flagrant for him to venture on establishing such a principle as the forfeiture of the papacy for criminal indulgences, and the confession that Christianity had been described by a pope as a lucrative fable, was justly regarded as dangerous, not only to the papacy, but to religion itself. Philip was persuaded to abandon the prosecution, and a bull was issued acquitting Boniface, but, at the same time, justifying the motives of his accusers. The order of the Templars was formally abolished, and their estates

transferred to the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; but the Hospitallers were forced to pay such large sums to Philip and the princes who had usurped the Temple lands, that they were impoverished rather than enriched by the grant. The council passed several decrees against heretics, and made some feeble efforts to reform the lives of the clergy; finally, it ordained a new crusade, which had no result but the filling of the papal coffers with gifts from the devout, bribes from the politic, and the purchase-money of indulgences from the cowardly.

When the Emperor Henry VII. was crowned at Rome, he established a tribunal to support his authority over the cities and princes of Italy; sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against Robert, King of Naples, on a charge of treason, and this prince, to the great indignation of the French monarch, was placed under the ban of the empire. The pope interfered to protect the cousin of his patron, Philip; the wars between the papacy and the empire were about to be renewed, when Henry died suddenly at Bonconventio, in the state of Sienna. It was generally believed that the emperor was poisoned by his confessor, a Dominican monk, who administered the fatal dose in the eucharist. Clement fulminated two bulls against Henry's memory, accusing him of perjury and usurpation; he also annulled the sentence against Robert of Naples, and nominated that prince imperial vicar of Italy.

The death of Henry exposed Germany to the wars of a disputed succession; that of Clement, which soon followed, produced alarming dissensions in the Church. Philip did not long survive the pontiff, and his successor, Louis X., was too deeply sunk in dissipation to regard the concerns of the papacy. Twenty-seven months elapsed in contests between the French and Italian cardinals, each anxious to have a pontiff of their own nation. When first they met in conclave, at Carpentras, the town was fired in a battle between their servants, and the cardinals, escaping from their burning palace through the windows, dispersed without coming to any decision. At length, Philip the Long, Count of Poictiers, assembled the cardinals at Lyons, having voluntarily sworn that he would secure their perfect freedom. During their deliberations, the death of Louis X. gave Philip the regency, and soon after the crown of France; the first use he made of his power was to shut up the cardinals in close conclave, and compel them to expedite the election. Thus coerced, they engaged to choose the pontiff who should be nominated by the Cardinal de Porto: this prelate, to the great surprise of all parties, named himself, and was soon after solemnly installed at Avignon, under the title of John XXII.

Europe was at this period in a miserable state of distraction. Italy was convulsed by the civil wars between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, whose animosities were secretly instigated by the intrigues of the

King of Naples; Spain and Portugal were harassed by the struggles between the Christians and the Moors; England and France were at war with each other, while both were distracted by internal commotions; two emperors unfurled their hostile banners in Germany: and, finally, the Ottoman Turks were steadily advancing towards Constantinople. In these difficult times, John displayed great policy; he refused to recognise either of the rivals to the empire, and took advantage of their dissensions to revive the papal claims to the supremacy of Italy. But the battle of Muhldorf having established Louis of Bavaria on the imperial throne, John, who had previously been disposed to favour the Duke of Austria, vainly attempted to gain over the successful sovereign. Louis sent efficient aid to the Ghibellines, and the papal party in Italy seemed on the point of being destroyed. John, forced to seek for allies, resolved to offer the imperial crown to Charles the Fair, who had just succeeded his brother Philip on the throne of France. The Germans, ever jealous of the French, were filled with indignation when they heard that the pope was endeavouring to remove their popular emperor; Louis summoned a diet, in which he publicly refuted the charges brought against him by the court of Avignon; several learned men published treatises to prove the subordination of the ecclesiastical to the imperial authority; the chapter of Freysingen expelled the bishop for his attachment to the pope; and the citizens of Strasburg threw a

priest into the Rhine, for daring to affix a copy of John's condemnation of Louis to the gates of the cathedral. Even the religious orders were divided; for, while the Dominicans adhered to the pope, the Franciscans zealously supported the cause of the emperor.

Irritated rather than discouraged by anathemas, Louis led an army into Italy, traversed the Apennines, received the iron crown of Lombardy at Milan, and, advancing to Rome, found a schismatic bishop willing to perform the ceremony of his coronation. It was in vain that John declared these proceedings void, and issued new bulls of excommunication; the emperor conciliated the Guelphs by his real or pretended zeal for orthodoxy, and, confident in his strength, ventured to pronounce sentence of deposition and death against John, and to procure the election of Nicholas V. by the Roman clergy and people. The Franciscans declared in favour of the antipope, who was one of their body; and if Louis had shown prudence and forbearance equal to his vigour, the cause of Pope John would have been irretrievably ruined. But the avarice of the emperor alienated the affections not only of the Romans, but of many Italian princes, who had hitherto been attached to the Ghibelline party; he was deserted by his chief supporters, and he embraced the pretext afforded him by the death of the Duke of Austria, to return to Bavaria. Nicholas, abandoned by his allies, was forced to surrender to the pope, and only

obtained his life by submitting to appear before John, with a rope round his neck, and to ask pardon of the pope and the public, for the scandal he had occasioned (A. D. 1330). Though by this humiliation the antipope escaped immediate death, he was detained a close prisoner for the remainder of his days, "treated," says a contemporary, "like a friend, but watched like an enemy."

The emperor would doubtless have suffered severely for his share in the elevation of Nicholas, had not the Church been disturbed by a religious controversy. In a discourse at Avignon, the pope maintained that the souls of the blessed would not enjoy the full fruition of celestial joys, or, as he termed it, "the beatific vision," until the day of judgment. The University of Paris, and several leaders of the mendicant orders, declared that such a doctrine was heretical: Philip of Valois, who had only recently obtained the crown of France, required that the pope should retract his assertions, and John was compelled to appease his adversaries by equivocal explanations. The dispute afforded the emperor a pretext for refusing obedience to the papal bulls, and appealing to a general council; new wars were about to commence, when John died at Avignon, leaving behind him the largest treasure that had ever been amassed by a pontiff.

It was not without cause that the Italians named the sojourn of the popes in Avignon, "the Babylonish captivity." The strength of the papacy was

shaken to its very foundation, when its possessors appeared mere dependents on the Kings of France, the instruments of war and of power, whose possession monarchs contested, while they spurned their authority. The successor of John owed his election to his promise, that he would not reside at Rome: he took the title of Benedict XII., and began his reign by an attempt to restore peace to the Church and to the empire. Philip of Valois had other interests, and he compelled the pope to adopt his views. Edward III. was preparing to assert his claims to the crown of France, and Philip feared that he would be supported by his brother-in-law, the emperor; he therefore threatened Benedict with his vengeance, if he should enter into negotiations with Louis, and, as a proof of his earnestness, he seized the revenues of the cardinals. The King of England and the German Emperor, aware that the pope was a mere instrument in the hands of their enemies, disregarded his remonstrances and derided his threats. Benedict had not courage or talents adequate to the crisis; his death delivered the papacy from the danger of sinking into contempt, under a feeble ruler, who sacrificed everything to his love of ease; the cardinals, in choosing a successor, sought a pontiff whose energy and ambition might again invest the Church with political power.

Clement VI., unanimously chosen by the electors, commenced his reign by claiming the restoration of those rights of the Holy See which had fallen into

abeyance during the government of his feeble predecessor. The Romans sent a deputation to request that he would return to the city, and appoint the celebration of a Jubilee at the middle of the century; Clement granted the latter request, but he refused to visit Rome, through dread of the turbulent spirit of its inhabitants (A. D. 1343). But Clement did not neglect the affairs of Italy, though he refused to reside in the country: Roger, King of Naples, at his death bequeathed his kingdom to his daughter Jane, or Joan, and named a council of regency: Clement insisted that the government, during the minority of the princess, belonged to the Holy See; he, therefore, annulled the king's will, and sent a papal legate to preside over the administration. The Emperor Louis V. sent an ambassador to the pope, soliciting absolution; Clement demanded humilitating submissions, which were indignantly refused; upon which the anathemas were renewed, and the German electors were exhorted to choose a new sovereign. As if resolved to brave all the princes that opposed the King of France, Clement nominated cardinals to the vacant benefices in England; but Edward III., supported by his clergy and people, refused to admit the intruders; nor could any threats of ecclesiastical censure shake his resolution. About the same time, Clement conferred the sovereignty of the Canary Islands on Prince Louis of Spain, as Adrian had given Ireland to the English king. "In these grants," says Henry, "the pretensions of the popes

seem to be less remarkable than the credulity of princes."

The pusillanimity of Louis V. is more surprising than the credulity of those who obtained papal grants to confirm questionable titles; though supported by all the princes and most of the prelates in Germany, the emperor sought to purchase pardon by submission; but the Diet would not allow the extravagant claims of the pope to be recognised, and the humiliations to which Louis submitted alienated his friends, without abating the hostility of his enemies.

But Italy was now the theatre of events calculated to divert public attention from the quarrels of the pope. Jane, Queen of Naples, had married Andrew, brother to the King of Hungary, whose family had ancient claims on the Neapolitan crown. Political jealousy disturbed the harmony of the marriage; a conspiracy was formed by the courtiers against Andrew; he was murdered in his wife's bed, and she was more than suspected of having consented to the crime. Clement shared the general indignation excited by this atrocity, and, in his chimerical quality of Suzerain of Naples, ordered that a strict search should be made after the murderers, against whom he denounced sentence of excommunication (A. D. 1346). Jane soon conciliated the pontiff, and purchased a sentence of acquittal, by selling her pretensions to the county of Avignon for a very moderate sum, which, it may be

added, was never paid. But the King of Hungary was not so easily satisfied; he levied a powerful army to avenge the murder of his brother; and the Emperor of Germany gladly embraced the opportunity of venting his resentment on the Guelphs and the partisans of the King of France, to whose intrigues he attributed the continuance of the papal excommunications.

Clement saw the danger with which he was menaced by the Hungarian league; to avert it, he negotiated with the King of Bohemia, and prevailed upon some of the German electors to nominate that monarch's son, Charles, Marquis of Moravia, to the empire. The new sovereign agreed to recognise all the extravagant claims of the popes, which his predecessors had so strenuously resisted; but no real authority was added to the papacy by this degradation of the empire; even Clement was aware that his authority should be supported by artifice and negotiation, rather than by any direct assertion of power.

While the princes of Europe were gradually emancipating themselves from the thraldom of the pontiffs, a remarkable revolution wrested Rome itself from their grasp, and revived for a moment the glories of the ancient republic. Rienzi, a young enthusiast of great learning, but humble origin, addressed a pathetic speech to his countrymen on the deplorable state of their city and the happiness of their ancient liberty. Such was the effect of his

eloquence, that the citizens immediately elected him tribune of the people, and conferred upon him the supreme power (A. D. 1347). He immediately degraded the senators appointed by the pope, punished with death several malefactors of high rank, and banished the Orsini, the Colonnas, and other noble families, whose factions had filled the city with confusion. The messengers sent by the tribune to announce his elevation were everywhere received with great respect; not only the Italian cities, but even foreign princes, sought his alliance; the King of Hungary and the Queen of Naples appealed to him as a mediator and judge, the Emperor Louis sought his friendship, and the pope wrote him a letter approving all his proceedings. Such unexpected power intoxicated the tribune; he summoned the candidates for the empire to appear before him, he issued an edict declaring Rome the metropolis of the world, and assumed several strange titles that prove both his weakness and his vanity. This extravagance proved his ruin; Rienzi was excommunicated by the pope, the banished nobles entered Rome, the fickle populace deserted the tribune, and, after wandering about for some time in various disguises, he was arrested by the papal ministers, and sent to Avignon, where he was detained a close prisoner.

In the mean time the King of Hungary had entered Italy; Jane, whose recent marriage to the Duke of Tarentum, one of the murderers of her

husband, had given great offence to her subjects, abandoned the Neapolitan territories at his approach, and sought refuge at Avignon. But a dreadful pestilence, which at this time desolated southern Europe, compelled the King of Hungary to abandon the territories he had so easily acquired. About the same time, the death of the Emperor Louis left Charles without a rival; and Clement resolved to take advantage of the favourable juncture to restore the papal authority in Italy. He ordered a Jubilee to be celebrated at Rome; he excommunicated Visconti, Archbishop of Milan, but afterwards sold absolution to this prelate, who was formidable as a statesman and a soldier; finally, he persuaded the King of Hungary and the Queen of Naples to submit their differences to his arbitration. But the court of Avignon was devoted to the house of Anjou; it did not venture to pronounce the queen innocent, but it declared that a weak woman could not resist the temptations of evil spirits, and decided that she should be restored to her kingdom on paying a subsidy to the King of Hungary. That generous prince refused the money, declaring that he had taken up arms to avenge the murder of his brother, not to gain a paltry bribe. Thus the pontiff still seemed the arbitrator of kings; some years before he had engaged Humbert, a prince of southern France, to bequeath his dominions to the French king, on the condition that the eldest son of that monarch should take the title of Dauphin;

he had been victorious, though by accident, in his contest with the Emperor Louis, and at his death Clement left the papacy in full possession of all its titles to supreme power.

But while the nominal authority of the papacy was as great as ever, its real power was considerably weakened. Innocent VI., unable to escape from the yoke which the kings of France had imposed on the popes during their residence at Avignon, resolved to recover the ancient patrimony of St. Peter; Rienzi was summoned from his dungeon, and was sent back to Rome with the title of senator. But the turbulent Romans soon grew weary of their former favourite, and Rienzi was murdered by the populace, at the time he was most zealously labouring to chastise the disturbers of public tranquillity, and rescue the people from the oppression of the nobles (A. D. 1354). Soon afterwards the Emperor Charles IV. entered Rome, and, by the permission of the pope, was solemnly crowned. This feeble prince negoitated with all parties, and betrayed all; he sold liberty to the cities, because he had neither the military force nor the political power to defend a refusal, and he submitted to receive a passport from the pope, and to abide in Rome only the limited period prescribed by the jealousy of the pontiff.

But though the popes, during their residence at Avignon, favoured the discords of Italy, stimulated the mutual animosity of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, and encouraged civil war in the empire, they were

desirous to terminate the sanguinary struggles for the crown of France, and made several efforts to reconcile the English Edward to the house of Valois. Edward was not to be checked in his career of victory; the glory of the French arms was destroyed at Creçy, and the King of France himself became a prisoner at Poictiers. It was through the mediation of Innocent VI. that King John recovered his liberty, and the war between England and France was terminated by the peace of Bretigny. Soon after his deliverance, John, distressed for money, was induced by a large bribe to give his daughter in marriage to Visconti, the most formidable enemy of the Church, while Innocent was too much occupied by nearer dangers to prevent an alliance so injurious to his interests. The numerous bands of mercenaries, who were thrown out of employment by the restoration of peace, formed themselves into independent bands, called Free Companies, and, quitting the southern districts of France, already desolated by frequent campaigns, directed their march towards Provence. The anathemas hurled against them neither retarded their progress nor diminished their number; a crusade was vainly preached; no soldiers would enlist, when the only pay was indulgences; the plundering hordes approached Avignon, and the treasures of the ecclesiastics were on the point of falling into the hands of these unscrupulous spoilers. By paying a large bribe, and giving them absolution for all their sins,

Innocent prevailed upon the Free Companies to turn aside from Avignon and enter into the service of the Marquis of Montferrat, who was engaged in war against the Visconti.

Urban V. succeeded Innocent, and though, like him, inclined to favour the King of France, he became convinced that the residence of the popes at Avignon was injurious to his interests. The emperor solicited Urban to visit Rome, and the Free Companies having again extorted a large bribe for sparing Avignon, the pope hasted to leave a residence where he was exposed to insult and subservient to foreign authority. The pope was received in Italy with great joy, the Emperor Charles hastened to meet him, and gave the last example of imperial degradation, by leading the horse on which the pontiff rode when he made his triumphal entry into Rome (A. D. 1368). This spectacle, instead of gratifying the Italians, filled them with rage; they treated the emperor with so much contempt, that he soon returned to Germany; and Urban, finding that he could not check the republican licentiousness which had so long prevailed in Rome and the other cities of the Patrimony of St. Peter, began to languish for the more tranquil retirement of Avignon. The only advantage he gained by his visit to Italy, was the empty honour of seeing the Emperor of the East bow at his footstool, and offer, as the reward of aid against the

Turks, the union of the Greek and Latin Churches. But Urban could not prevail upon the western princes to combine in defence of Constantinople; and the Greek emperor would have been unable to gain the consent of his subjects to lay aside either the peculiar ceremonies or doctrines that had severed their church from the papacy. The renewal of the war between France and England, when Charles V. succeeded the imbecile John, afforded Urban a pretext for returning to Avignon. Death seized him soon after he reached the city, and Gregory XI. was chosen his successor.

Gregory's great object was to break the power of the Visconti, who had become the virtual sovereigns of northern Italy; but he did not neglect the general interests of the Church, exerting himself diligently to suppress heresy. The emperor created the pontiff his vicar, and Gregory, to support his authority, took some of the free companies into pay, and among the rest a band of Englishmen commanded by John Hawkwood. It was of importance to gain over the city of Florence; the papal legate thought that this object could best be obtained by producing a famine, and stimulating the citizens by the pressure of want to rise against their government. In pursuance of this infamous policy, means were taken to cut off the import of corn, while Hawkwood ravaged the territory of the city and destroyed the harvests. Of all the Italian people, the Florentines

had been the most constant in their attachment to the cause of the Holy See,—their indignation was therefore excessive, and their hate implacable.

A general revolt against the papal power was soon organized through Italy by the outraged Florentines; they embroidered the word LIBERTAS on their standards in letters of gold, while their emissaries preached freedom in the cities, in the castles, and in the cottages; the summons was eagerly heard, and the states of the Church soon refused to recognise the sovereignty of its head. Gregory sent new legates, and menaced the confederates with excommunication; he pronounced sentence of excommunication against the Florentines, exhorting all princes to confiscate the property of those who should be found in their several dominions, and to sell their persons into slavery;—an iniquitous edict, which was partially acted upon both in France and England:—new hordes of mercenaries were taken into pay, and when the citizens of Bologna applied to the legate for pardon, he replied that he would not quit their city until he had bathed his hands and feet in their blood. The Florentines were undaunted, but the disunion and mutual jealousies between the other confederates proved fatal to the national cause; the citizens of Rome were anxious to have the pontifical court restored to their city, and to obtain this desirable object, they willingly sacrificed their claims to freedom. In their state of moral degradation, indeed, they were

unable to appreciate the advantages of rational liberty, and unfit to exercise its privileges.

During these commotions in Italy, Gregory, being informed of the reformed doctrines, or, as he called them, the heresies published in England by John Wickliffe, wrote to the chancellor and university of Oxford, severely reproving them for permitting such opinions to be promulgated, and ordering that Wickliffe should be brought to trial before an ecclesiastical tribunal. Similar letters were sent to Richard II., the young King of England, who had just succeeded his grandfather Edward III., but the Duke of Lancaster, and several other nobles, took the reformer under their protection; Wickliffe was rescued from the malice of his enemies, while his doctrines rapidly, though secretly, spread not only through Italy, but through Germany. The chief articles he was accused of teaching, were, "That the wafer in the eucharist, after consecration, is not the real body of Christ, but its figure only; that the Roman Church had no right to be the head of all churches; that the pope has no more authority than any other priest; that lay patrons may, and ought to, deprive a delinquent church of its temporal possessions; that the gospel was sufficient to direct any Christian; that no prelate of the Church ought to have prisons for punishing delinquents." The publication of these sentiments enraged Gregory, who had, from the very commencement of his reign, shown himself a virulent persecutor, and procured

the burning of several unfortunate wretches accused of heresy, both in France and Germany. Scarcely had he made his triumphal entry into Rome, when he prepared to take some effective measures for checking the progress of innovation. But domestic troubles soon engaged his attention; the Romans, who had received him on his first arrival with so much enthnsiasm, soon began to brave his authority and disobey his edicts; baffled in his expectations of peace and power, he even contemplated returning to Avignon, where part of the papal court still continued. But before taking this step, he resolved to secure the tranquillity of Italy, and, if possible, avert the divisions which he foresaw would probably trouble the Church after his death (A. D. 1378). A congress was opened at Serazanæ, but before its deliberations could produce any important result, Gregory was seized with mortal illness, and all hopes of peace were destroyed by the schism which arose respecting the choice of his successor.

Chapter XIV.

THE GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST.

From A. D. 1378 to A. D. 1417.

The death of Gregory XI. was the commencement of a new era for the ancient capital of the world, from which the popes had been absent during so many years. Pride, interest, and self-love, combined to attach the Romans to the papacy; had they combined with the Florentines, it is possible that the cities of Italy might have formed a confederacy sufficiently strong to defy an absent pope, and an emperor powerless and distant; perhaps they might even have solved the problem which still continues to baffle statesmen, and formed a federative union in Italy. But the Romans were incapable of such profound views; they looked to nothing beyond the advantages to be derived from the residence of the papal court; and, instead of aiming at reviving their ancient glory, they contented themselves with disputing the profits that had hitherto been enjoyed by the city of Avignon.

No sooner had the cardinals, the majority of whom belonged to the French party, shut themselves up in conclave, than the Romans were filled with alarm lest a Transalpine prelate should be

chosen who would establish his court at Avignon. They assembled in arms round the Vatican, and by their menaces sent terror into its inmost recesses. They demanded that the new pope should be an Italian; this was the only virtue they required in the successor of St. Peter. The French cardinals, already disunited, were intimidated by these clamours; they gave their votes to a Neapolitan archbishop, who took the title of Urban VI.

The cardinals seem to have expected that Urban, who was celebrated for his modesty, his humility, and his skill in the canon law, would have acknowledged that his election was vitiated by the force that had been used, and that he would therefore have abdicated the pontificate. But Urban soon convinced them of their error; he not only showed a determination to retain his power, but openly set the discontented cardinals at defiance. In a public discourse, immediately after his coronation, he severely reprehended their pomp and luxury, threatened to punish those who had been convicted of receiving bribes, and reproached some of them by name for corresponding with the enemies of the Church. Exasperated by this austerity, the discontented cardinals fled to Anagni, proclaimed the late election void, sent circulars to all Christian princes warning them not to acknowledge Urban, took a body of Bretons into their pay, and, relying on the protection of this military force, excommunicated the new pope as an apostate usurper. The Duke of

Brunswick, the husband of Jane, Queen of Naples, alarmed at the prospect of a schism, attempted to mediate; but his efforts to effect a reconciliation were baffled by the resentment of the cardinals and the haughtiness of Urban. On all sides proposals were made to assemble a general council, but the pope, the cardinals, and the emperor, disputed the right of convocation; the fortune of war could alone determine the fate of the Church.

Urban showed no desire to conciliate his opponents; he announced a speedy creation of new cardinals to overwhelm their votes, and threatened the Queen of Naples for granting them protection. He showed similar severity in his conduct to the Roman aristocracy, and, on a very slight pretext, ventured to deprive the Count of Fondi of his fiefs. The count at once declared himself a partisan of the cardinals; he gave them shelter in the town of Fondi, where, protected by Neapolitan troops, they proceeded to a new election. It is said by many historians that they would have chosen the King of France, Charles V., had not his being maimed in the left arm incapacitated him from performing the ceremonies of the mass; but their selection was scarcely less swayed by temporal motives, when they gave their votes to Cardinal Robert of Geneva, who assumed the title of Clement VII. This prelate had served in the field, and even acquired some reputation as a warrior; but he was generally and justly hated by the Italians for having massacred all the inhabitants of Cesena during the Florentine war.

The death of the Emperor Charles IV. added new troubles to the complicated policy of Europe; that despicable slave of superstition had purchased from the venal electors the nomination of his son Wenceslaus as his successor; and the young prince, from the moment of his accession, gave himself up to the practice of the meanest vices, and wallowed in disgusting debauchery. These crimes, however, did not prevent him from enjoying the favour of Urban, whose cause he warmly espoused,—a merit which, in the eyes of the pontiff, compensated for the want of all the virtues.

The Queen of Naples declared in favour of Clement, and invited him to her court. So great, however, was the hatred of a French pontiff, that, in spite of the turbulent disposition of Urban, the defection of the cardinals, the authority of the queen, and the jealousy of the states so recently at war with the court of Rome, all Italy declared against Clement, and the Neapolitans showed such hatred to his cause, that he was forced to escape by sea to Marseilles, whence he proceeded to establish his court at Avignon.

The King of France, Charles V., had eagerly espoused the cause of the cardinals who had elected the antipope; most of them were his subjects, and all were devoted to the interests of France; he therefore declared himself the partisan of Clement, trusting that he would obtain important political advantages by the residence of the pope at Avignon.

Unfortunately the first result was to involve his kingdom in a ruinous war, which long doomed France to loss and calamity.

Urban's vengeance was promptly directed against the Queen of Naples, whose supposed murder of her husband, thirty years before, was still remembered to her disadvantage; he declared that she had forfeited her right to the throne, which he conferred on her cousin Charles of Durazzo; and to support this king of his vengeance, he not only sold ecclesiastical benefices, but pledged the plate belonging to the churches. Jane, driven from her kingdom, adopted the Duke of Anjou as her son and successor; the French monarchs believed themselves bound to support his claims, and exhausted their resources in the effort.

All Europe was divided by the schism: Italy, Holland, Germany, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Flanders, and England, declared for Urban; while Clement was supported by Spain, Navarre, Scotland, Savoy, Lorraine, and France. The rival popes hurled anathemas against each other; excommunication was answered by excommunication; and both prepared piles to burn the partisans of their adversary as heretics. Charles V. set the example, by issuing an edict confiscating the property and life of those who ventured to recognise Urban in his dominions. Urban retorted, by preaching a crusade against Charles; the English eagerly seized this pretext for renewing war against France, and a

powerful army entered Britanny to support its duke against his liege lord.

The death of Charles V., and the minority of his son Charles VI., added to the embarrassments of France; the Duke of Anjou seized the royal treasures to support his claims on Naples; the new taxes imposed upon the people provoked insurrection; the revolters were punished with remorseless cruelty, and they, on the other hand, practised horrible retaliations whenever they had an opportunity. Charles Durazzo, in the mean time, found little difficulty in taking possession of the Neapolitan territories; Jane, abandoned by her subjects, was forced to surrender to her cousin, and, by his command, was strangled in prison (A. D. 1382). Louis of Anjou immediately claimed her inheritance, and, having obtained the investiture of Naples from Clement, entered Italy at the head of fifteen thousand men. No opposition was offered to the French in their passage; Louis reached the frontiers of the Abruzzi in safety, and was there joined by several Neapolitan nobles attached to the memory of Jane, and anxious to avenge her death.

Durazzo was unable to meet his enemy in the field; but he garrisoned his fortresses, encouraged the peasantry of the Abruzzi to harass the French by a guerilla warfare, and destroyed all the forage and provisions in the open country. Famine and pestilence wasted the gallant chivalry of France; the Duke of Anjou fell a victim to a fever, whose

severity was aggravated by his disappointment; his army dispersed, and many noble barons, who had joined his banners, were forced to beg their way home, amid the jeers and insults of the Italians. The English, commanded by the Bishop of Norwich, made a feeble attack upon the schismatic French; they were defeated, and the bishop returned with shame to his diocese.

Urban disapproved of the cautious policy of Durazzo, and, proceeding to Naples, began to treat the king as his vassal; Charles temporized, until the death of the Duke of Anjou delivered him from pressing danger, but then he refused all obedience to the pope, and treated him so uncivilly, that Urban removed to Nocera. Several of the cardinals, weary of the tyranny to which they were subjected, plotted the murder of the pope; but their conspiracy was discovered, and six of them were sentenced to suffer the tortures of the rack that they might be compelled to betray their accomplices. Urban personally superintended these cruelties, and suggested new modes of torture to the executioners. When confessions were thus obtained, he degraded the cardinals from their dignity, and pronounced sentence of excommunication, not only against them, but against the King and Queen of Naples, the antipope Clement, his cardinals, and his adherents. Durazzo, justly enraged, marched against Nocera, and captured the town; but the pope found shelter in the citadel, from a window of which

he, several times a day, fulminated anathemas with bell and candle against the King of Naples and his army. Urban at length made his escape, and, embarking on board some Genoese galleys, reached Genoa in safety, where he was honourably received by the doge, who deemed the city honoured by his presence. During his flight, he ordered the Bishop of Aquila to be murdered, suspecting that he meditated desertion; and soon after he put to death five of the guilty cardinals, sparing the sixth, who was an Englishman, at the intercession of Richard II., —a monarch who had given the weight of England's influence to Urban's cause.

Clement VII. did not conduct himself one whit better than his rival; he insulted and imprisoned the German and Hungarian ambassadors, who were sent to propose expedients for terminating the schism; his exactions from the churches that acknowledged his authority alienated the minds of those whom their political position had ranged on his side; his intrigues and his servility were offensive to the kings that supported him. The double papacy was found a heavy tax on Christendom; each pontiff collected around him a court of dissolute and prodigal cardinals, whose lavish expenditure was supported by alienating the revenues of all the benefices within their grasp.

But the kingdom of Naples was especially destined to suffer from the schism; the rival pontiffs claimed the right of bestowing the Neapolitan crown at their

discretion, and their pretensions perpetuated civil discord. Charles Durazzo quitted his kingdom to seek a new crown in Hungary, but fell a victim to assassins in the hour of success; Margaret, his queen, on receiving the news, assumed the regency, and caused her son Ladislaus to be recognised as sovereign by the states of the realm. But Urban VI., who had excommunicated Charles Durazzo, pretended that the kingdom of Naples reverted as a vacant fief to the Holy See, and began forming a party against the queen. Clement on his side raised a similar claim, and sold the church plate to pay troops; he zealously supported the house of Anjou, and employed Otho of Brunswick, the widower of the unfortunate Jane, to expel the family of Durazzo.

Hitherto the division in the Church had been political; a doctrinal controversy, however, was added to the schism, which, though it led to no immediate results, deserves to be briefly described. A Dominican doctor of divinity, John de Monçon, preaching on the doctrine of original sin, declared that this stain was inherent in all human creatures from the moment of their conception, and as it could only be effaced by the redemption of Jesus Christ, he inferred that the Virgin Mary was conceived in sin. This was merely an incidental illustration of the established doctrine, an example intended to make it more clear and striking. But the faculty of theology in the University of Paris, the Sorbonne, animated, probably, by an old jealousy of the Dominicans and

Franciscans, with whom the University had frequent contest, undertook the examination of Monçon's doctrine, and declared that his assertion was an impious outrage against the mother of Christ: the doctors added that the prophesied sacrifice of Christ had an effect before its accomplishment, on his birth and that of his mother, and to this exemption from the ordinary law of humanity, they gave the name of the Immaculate Conception.

The worship of the Virgin Mary has always been the most popular portion of the Romish Liturgy; the doctrines of the Sorbonne, though utterly unintelligible, seemed to confer new honour upon her name, and it was ardently received by multitudes of ignorant enthusiasts.

Monçon, alarmed at the ferment he had unwittingly excited, fled to Avignon, where he trusted that his tenets would find favour. The entire order of the Dominicans, regarding themselves, in their capacity of Inquisitors, as the special guardians of the purity of the faith, were enraged to find one of their brethren accused of heresy; they sent seventy of their most eminent doctors to support Monçon's opinions before the papal tribunal, and, with a shrewd knowledge of the arguments most weighty at Avignon, they subscribed forty thousand crowns of gold to support his cause. The Sorbonne, on the other hand, deputed its most eminent professors to prosecute Monçon, and procure the condemnation of his opinions. The pope was sorely embarrassed; the

opposing parties were so powerful that he did not wish to alienate either; and he, therefore, had recourse to the expedient of dismissing Monçon secretly, and sending him to seek refuge in Arragon.

But the theologians of the Sorbonne would not rest satisfied with an imperfect victory; profiting by the popular ferment to work on the mind of their sovereign, Charles VI., they persuaded the king, who had not yet attained his twenty-first year, and whose ignorance was extreme, to undertake the decision of a question beyond the limits of human knowledge. His majesty's confessor shared the opinions of Monçon, the Inquisitors of the Faith, and the whole body of the Dominicans supported, Pope Clement himself regarded them with favour, but in spite of their united authority, the young and stupid king took upon himself to maintain that the Virgin Mary was free from the stain of original sin; he even sent to prison all who denied the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

Clement VII., always in fear of being sacrificed to his rival, Urban VI., and relying for support chiefly on the court of France, did not venture to make any further resistance. He issued a bull condemning John de Monçon, and all his adherents: he permitted the king to institute a new festival in honour of the Immaculate Conception, and to constrain his confessor, as well as the most celebrated Dominicans, to retract their opinions in presence of the whole court. The whole order of St. Dominic

was degraded to the lowest rank of Monastics, and it was ordained that no one of their body should, in future, hold the office of confessor to the king.

Urban VI. paid little regard to theological controversies; he was more anxious to re-establish his authority over southern Italy. But as he marched towards Naples, his troops mutinied for want of pay, and he was forced to return to Rome. The citizens proved to be as discontented as the soldiers; to stifle their murmurs he published a bull for the celebration of a jubilee the following year at Rome, and ordered that this solemnity should be repeated every thirty-three years, according to the number of years that Christ remained upon earth. He hoped that this festival would enrich the Romans and himself, but he died before the time for its celebration (A. D. 1389). It is supposed that his end was hastened by poison, for his most ardent supporters were weary of his tyranny.

A few days after the death of Urban, the cardinals at Rome chose a new pontiff, who took the title of Boniface IX., and commenced his reign by an interchange of anathemas and excommunications with his rival at Avignon. More prudent than his predecessor, Boniface hasted to make terms with the family of Durazzo at Naples; he recognised young Ladislaus as a legitimate king, and sent a legate to perform the ceremony of his coronation. Ladislaus, in return, took an oath of fidelity and homage, binding himself never to recognise the antipope at Avignon.

Clement VII. strengthened himself by a closer union with the King of France, whom he induced to visit Avignon, and to witness the ceremony of the coronation of Louis II. of Anjou, as King of Naples. The imbecile Charles was so gratified by his reception, that he projected a crusade against Rome, but he was soon induced to abandon his purpose, and he gave very feeble aid to his cousin of Anjou, when he prepared an armament to invade the Neapolitan territories. The doctors of the Sorbonne became eager to terminate the schism; and, encouraged by their success in the controversy of the Immaculate Conception, they presented to the king a project for restoring the peace of the Church, by compelling the rival popes to resign, and submit the choice of a new pontiff to a general council (A. D. 1394). Though this counsel was not favourably received by the king, it gave great alarm to Clement, and agitation of mind is supposed to have produced the apoplectic fit which occasioned his death.

The French ministers wrote to the cardinals at Avignon, urging them to embrace the opportunity of terminating the schism; but these prelates hasted to conclude a new election without opening the letter, with whose contents they were acquainted. Peter de Luna, cardinal of Arragon, was nominated pope; he took the name of Benedict XIII., and the schism became wider than ever. When the news of the election reached Paris, Charles, instead

of recognising the pope of Avignon, convoked the clergy of his kingdom to deliberate on the means of restoring peace to the Church. After some delay, the convocation met, and came to the inconsistent resolution of recognising Benedict, and proposing that the schism should be terminated by the abdication of the two popes. Ambassadors were sent with this proposal to Avignon, but a ridiculous though insuperable difficulty prevented the success of their negotiations. The plenipotentiaries on both sides preached long sermons to each other, until the French princes who were joined in the legation, completely fatigued, and seeing no probable termination of the conference, returned home indignant and disappointed. The King of England and the Emperor of Germany joined the French mon arch in recommending the double abdication; Boniface declared his readiness to resign, if Benedict would set the example, but the latter pontiff absolutely refused submission. An army was sent to compel him to obedience; Avignon was taken, and Benedict besieged in his palace, but his obstinacy continued unshaken, and the party feuds which the weakness of the king encouraged in France, gave him hopes of final triumph.

The state of the western governments tended to protract the schism of the Church; the King of France fell into idiotcy; Richard II. was deposed in England by his cousin Henry IV.; the Duke of Anjou was driven from Naples; the Byzantine

Emperor and the King of Hungary were harassed by the Turks, whose increasing power threatened ruin to both; the Spanish peninsula was distracted by the Moorish wars; and the Emperor Wenceslaus was forced to abdicate by the German electors. Boniface took advantage of these circumstances to establish the papal claim to the first fruits of all ecclesiastical benefices, and to render himself absolute master of Rome, by fortifying the citadel and castle of St. Angelo. The Roman citizens were deprived of the last shadow of their former franchises; the readiness with which they submitted, is, however, a sufficient proof that they were unworthy of freedom. The pope did not long survive this triumph; the Roman cardinals elected Innocent VII. to supply his place; but he died about twelve months after his elevation, and was succeeded by Gregory XII. (A. D. 1406). Benedict having in the mean time recovered his freedom, protested against the Roman elections, but offered to hold a personal conference with Gregory for reconciling all their differences. The cardinals, weary of these controversies, deserted the rivals, and having assembled a general council at Pisa, elected a third pope, who took the title of Alexander V.

There were now three heads to the Christian Church; Ladislaus and some of the Italian cities supported Gregory; the Kings of Scotland and Spain adhered to Benedict; while Alexander was recognised in the rest of Christendom. The disputes

of these hostile pontiffs had greatly tended to enfranchise the human mind, and weaken the hold of superstition; Wickliffe's doctrines spread in England, and in Germany they were advocated by John Huss, who eloquently denounced the corruptions that debased the pure doctrines of Christianity. Pope Alexander was preparing to resist the progress of the courageous reformer, when his death threw the affairs of the Church into fresh confusion.

The presence of an armed force induced the cardinals to elect John XXIII., whose promotion gave great scandal, as he was more remarkable for his military than his religious qualifications (A. D. 1411). John soon compelled Ladislaus to abandon Gregory's party; he then assembled a general council at Rome, where sentence of condemnation was pronounced on the doctrines of Huss and Wickliffe. But Ladislaus soon grew weary of peace; he led an army against Rome, plundered the city, and compelled the pope to seek protection from Sigismond, Emperor of Germany. John consented very reluctantly to the imperial demand, that the schism should finally be terminated by a general council; he made an ineffectual effort to have the assembly held in one of his own cities, but Sigismond insisted that it should meet in Constance. John then attempted to interpose delays, but the general voice of Christendom was against him; he judged his situation accurately, when, pointing to

Constance from the summit of the Alps, he exclaimed, "What a fine trap for catching foxes."

The attention of all Christendom was fixed upon the deliberations of the council of Constance, whither bishops, ambassadors, and theologians, flocked from every part of Europe (A. D. 1415). John Huss, having obtained the Emperor's safe-conduct, appeared before the council to defend his doctrines, but Sigismond was persuaded to forfeit his pledge, and deliver the courageous reformer to his enemies, to be tried for heresy. Pope John was not treated better, a unanimous vote of the council demanded his abdication; he fled to Austria, but he was overtaken and detained in the same prison with Huss, until he ratified the sentence of his own deposition. Gregory XII. soon after abdicated the pontificate, but Benedict still continued obstinate; his means of resistance, however, were so trifling, that the council paid little attention to his refusal. John Huss, and his friend Jerome of Prague, were sentenced to be burned at the stake as obstinate heretics, but their persecutors could not stop the progress of the truth; the Hussites in Bohemia had recource to arms for the defence of their liberties, and, under the command of the heroic Zisca, maintained the cause of civil and religious liberty, in many glorious fields.

The emperor, the princes of Germany, and the English deputies, strenuously urged the council to examine the abuses of the Church, and form some

plan for its thorough reformation; but the prelates, fearing that some proposals might be made injurious to their interests, steadily resisted these efforts; declaring that the election of a pope ought to have precedence of all other business. After long disputes, the choice of the electors fell on Otho Colonna, a Roman noble, who took the title of Martin V. The new pontiff combined with the cardinals to strangle all the plans of reform, and the council, from whose deliberations so much had been expected, terminated its sittings, without having applied any effectual remedy to the evils which had produced the schism. A promise, indeed, was made, that another council would be convened, for the reform of the Church, at Pavia, but no one cared to claim its performance; the conduct of those who met at Constance convinced the world, that no effectual redress of grievances could be expected from such assemblies.

Chapter XV.

THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION, AND FALL OF THE GREEK EMPIRE.

From A. D. 1416 to A. D. 1433.

Never had a pope been elected with greater solemnity than Martin V. The emperor, the electors of Germany, princes, dukes, and counts without number, ambassadors from all the powers of Europe, a multitude of archbishops, bishops, and abbots, in fact, the Church and the Empire had given all that was illustrious by rank and venerable by antiquity, to confer splendour on his consecration. But a more formidable power had risen beside and above the council of Constance; a spirit of inquiry was generated, the blind submission to authority was destroyed, reason began to exercise its rights, and the merits of the Church and its government were brought under the cognizance of public opinion. The schism between persons was at an end when the obstinacy of Benedict XIII. was at an end, but the secret breach between the clergy and people was daily widened.

The northern kingdoms were distracted by incessant wars, Poland suffered severely from the ambition of the Teutonic Knights, and Russia had scarcely begun to emerge from barbarism: but the progress

of intelligence was steady in England and Germany; the doctrines of Wickliffe and Huss gained strength, and the University of Prague solemnly condemned the Romish practice of refusing the cup to the laity. France, exhausted by the English invasion, broken in spirit by the battle of Azincourt, and distracted by the intrigues of a licentious queen,—a faithless wife to her idiot husband, an unnatural mother to her youthful son,—had no energy to resist encroachments on its ecclesiastical privileges. But the liberties of the Gallican Church were not forgotten, and the pope very soon found that there were many French prelates ready to defend their independence.

Martin V. viewed his election as a triumph of the old system of popery over the spirit of republicanism, which the schism had introduced into the Church; assuming that the papacy was restored to its former supremacy, he directed all his efforts to secure its pre-eminence. In all former struggles, Italy had been at the head of the nations which revolted against pontifical despotism; it was on Italian ground that Gregory VII. encountered the boldest of his enemies. But at that period, Europe, silent and submissive, recognised the authority of the Holy See; no one menaced the existence of the papal power, and religious independence did not include the rejection of foreign supremacy. But the Italians saw that the new contest in which the papacy was about to be engaged, menaced its very

existence; they knew that its ruin would ensure the destruction of the profits it produced; the reform of the Church was, in their view, of far less importance than the gain to be derived from the residence of the pontiffs at Rome, and thus the noble sentiments of glory and freedom were sacrificed to thirst for gain. Martin V. well understood the political condition of Italy, and, as soon as he became pope, directed his earliest cares to the Patrimony of St Peter. Having crossed the Alps, he remained for a few months at Mantua, and from thence he proceeded to Florence, where he was received with the utmost enthusiasm.

At this time, the castle of St. Angelo, Ostia, and Civita Vecchia were garrisoned by the Neapolitans, while Rome itself was subjected to the lord of Perugia. Tedious negotiations were requisite before these usurpations could be set aside, and the Roman citizens did not scruple to express their contempt for a pontiff who had not sufficient strength to insist upon his rights*. But diplomacy proved to be more efficacious than arms; Jane II., Queen of Naples, restored the fortresses on condition of a legate being sent to perform the ceremony of her coronation, and the lord of Perugia consented to be

* The walls of Rome were placarded with the following doggerel verse:—

Papa Martino
Non vale un quattrino.

That is, *Pope Martin is not worth a farthing.*

viceroy over the cities which he had usurped. Descended from the illustrious family of the Colonnas, and accustomed to the pomps of the Roman court, Martin revived all the splendour of the papacy. He hastened to abjure all memory of the schism and the council of Constance. Regarding himself as the sovereign of a restoration, he annulled as dangerous everything that could revive the recollection of the past period of discord, forgetting the great stride that human intellect had made in the interval; an anachronism that seems to belong to all similar epochs. One of his first acts was to declare, that no appeal can be made from the decision of the pope; but this was opposed by the French clergy, less, however, from a desire for independence, than from hatred of the Emperor Sigismond. The Neapolitan crown was still claimed by the house of Anjou; Martin for some unknown cause abandoned the queen's cause, and gave his aid to the French prince who sought a kingdom in Italy, at the time when his own country seemed on the point of becoming an English province. The Duke of Anjou was at first victorious, but Queen Jane sought assistance from the King of Arragon, and, by his aid, the French troops were completely defeated. Martin sought the friendship of the victor, but he returned to the Angevin party when the fortunes of the war again changed, for he dreaded the power of Alphonso of Arragon, and its proximity to Rome.

Sigismond was unable to afford the pope any effectual assistance, for the progress of the Hussites menaced the security of his throne. He had assembled an army of two hundred thousand men, with which he invaded Bohemia, and laid siege to Prague; but the imperialists, notwithstanding their vast superiority of numbers, were defeated in five general engagements by Zisca, with the loss of their baggage, provisions, and artillery. When this bold chief of the insurgents fell, his followers covered a drum with his skin, trusting that the sound would ever encourage the soldiers to emulate his heroism. Having forced Sigismond to raise the siege of Prague, the Hussites published a manifesto in vindication of their proceedings; the document was signed by the Archbishop of Prague, by several Bohemian nobles, and by deputies from the principal cities.

Alarmed by the success of the insurgents, Martin published a crusade against the Hussites; but the days of the Albigensian wars were gone by, and the papacy must have been defeated in the contest, had not the fanaticism, engendered by religious wars, excited the Bohemians to excesses as iniquitous as those which they condemned in their adversaries, and far more impolitic. The Hussites proclaimed that every prince and potentate convicted of mortal sin, forfeited his right to power, and thus alienated from their party the whole body of the nobles. They protracted the struggle for several years,

indeed, but the division in their councils finally enabled the papal party to gain a triumph.

Martin's recurrence to the Angevin side gave great offence to the King of Arragon; he supported the empty, but vexatious title of the aged Benedict XIII.; and when this obstinate pontiff died at Paniscola, he encouraged the two cardinals who adhered to his party to elect Clement VIII. as his successor. This might have renewed the schism, but for Martin's prudence; he entered into negotiations with the King of Arragon, and Clement, finding himself deserted, abdicated his phantom dignity. The cardinals at Paniscola went through the farce of a new election (A. D. 1428). They entered into conclave with all the prescribed formalities, and announced that Martin V. was the object of their inspired choice. Thus ridiculously ended the schism which had lasted more than half a century.

The Hussites still carried on the war with distinguished success; the imperial generals were unable to meet them in the field; Martin therefore sent Cardinal Julian as his legate to conduct the sacred war, and to preside over a general council which he summoned to assemble at Basil (A. D. 1431). He died a few days after signing the edict, and was succeeded by Eugenius IV.

Cardinal Julian, entering Bohemia, ravaged the country without mercy; but, being suddenly attacked by the Hussites, he was defeated with great loss, and compelled to abandon all his baggage and mili-

tary stores. He retired to Nuremberg, where he recommended the emperor to invite the insurgents to send delegates to the council of Basil; and at the same time he wrote to the Bohemians, promising them safe-conduct and a free conference upon the articles of their faith.

Eugenius was greatly alarmed when he heard that the council had assembled; the freedom of discussion granted to the Hussites appeared a dangerous precedent, and the reception of a cardinal, whose dignity had not been publicly confirmed, seemed a direct attack upon his authority. He sent a full power to Cardinal Julian to dissolve the council, and summon another to assemble at Bologna within eighteen months, alleging, as his reasons for this translation, that he was informed few prelates had arrived at Basil; that there was not a safe access to the city, on account of the wars between the Dukes of Austria and Burgundy; that many of the citizens were Hussites, and persecuted the Catholics; and that the Greek emperor would appear to negotiate a union with the Latin Church if the council were assembled at Bologna. The emperor would not listen to these arguments, and Cardinal Julian refused to publish the edict of dissolution. Eugenius published a bull, dissolving the assembly by his own authority; but the prelates at Basil refused to obey the edict, and their determination was approved in a general assembly of the French clergy. Several decrees, limiting the papal

authority, were enacted by the council; an accusation of contumacy was brought against the pope himself: Eugenius, after a long struggle, was forced to confirm the proceedings of the council, and sanction the concessions they had made to the Hussites. But, provoked by fresh encroachments on his privileges, Eugenius again denounced the council at Basil, summoning a rival assembly to meet at Florence; on the other hand, the fathers at Basil deposed Eugenius, choosing, as his successor, the Duke of Savoy, who took the title of Felix V. The Schism of the West seemed about to be revived, the rival pontiffs anathematized each other, and the European churches began to deliberate on the side they should take in the coming contest. But the deliberations of the council at Basil soon lost their influence on the popular mind; pride, passion, and self-interest, too obviously guided their decisions; Eugenius saw their error, which he resolved to turn to his own advantage,—he won the princes of Germany over to his side, and, by politic concessions, obtained the support of Alphonso of Arragon and the Duke of Milan. The diplomatic skill of the pope prevailed, he established his authority over the Patrimony of St. Peter, and alienated most of his former supporters from the antipope. The French monarch and clergy, delivered from the oppressions of the English by the heroism of the Maid of Orléans, were encouraged, by the divisions in the papacy, to secure their independence, and the liberties

of the Gallican church were assured by the establishment of the Pragmatic Sanction, in a convocation of the states at Bourges.

The rival councils of Basil and Florence, wearied of contest rather than subdued, at length ceased to contend against each other; those who hoped that the prelates would have used their power to reform the Church, were bitterly disappointed; but the public attention was directed to the progress of the Turks in eastern Europe, and ecclesiastical affairs began to lose their interest. Hunniades, the great hero of the Hungarians, gained several victories over the Turks, while the young Prince of Albania, the celebrated Scanderbeg, recovered his paternal kingdom from Sultan Amurath II., and, by his eminent valour, deserved his appellation,—the bulwark of Christendom. But these warriors could only delay the fate of the Byzantine empire; the Turkish hosts were at the very gates of Constantinople, and all that the Emperor Palæologus had gained by his western negotiations was the certainty that the kings of Europe would not combine for his deliverance, and the fear that his own subjects would be alienated by his submission to the pope (A. D. 1443). Indeed the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, profiting by the lessons they had learned during their travels in Italy, actually menaced him with excommunication if he persevered in his alliance with the Latins. Ladislaus, King of Poland, had gained some advan-

tages over the Turks; Pope Eugenius persuaded the young monarch to place himself at the head of a league in which the republic of Venice, the Greek empire, the Duke of Burgundy, the Prince of Caramania, and Scanderbeg, should aid the exertions of the Poles and Hungarians to exclude the Mohammedans from Europe. Sultan Amurath secretly bribed Hunniades to counteract this league, aware that delay would be fatal to the coalition; the Hungarian hero, who had often triumphed over the Sultan's arms, was not proof against his gold; and, by his influence, a truce for ten years was concluded between Ladislaus and Amurath, the Christian king swearing on the Gospel, and the sultan on the Koran, that the conditions should be faithfully observed.

But the papal legate, and the admiral of the confederate fleet, strenuously condemned the pacification; the Prince of Caramania and the Greek emperor continued the war, the Turkish army, summoned into Asia, abandoned its European conquests, and Amurath voluntarily resigned his throne. Cardinal Julian, at the instigation of the pope, persuaded Ladislaus to violate his recent treaty, and gave him absolution for the perjury. The Genoese, animated by jealousy of the Venetians, lent their galleys to bring the Turks from Asia; Amurath, eager to punish so flagrant a breach of faith, quitted his retirement, and the Mohammedans soon encountered the confederate Christians at Varna. After a desperate battle, the Christians were totally

routed; Ladislaus, with his bravest warriors, fell on the field; and, had not Amurath marched southwards against Scanderbeg, the Turks might have penetrated into the heart of the German empire. The Hungarians were so enraged with the cardinal-legate, to whose perfidious counsels they attributed their misfortunes, that they murdered him as he fled homewards, and would not permit his body to receive the rites of sepulture.

Eugenius was equally unfortunate in his efforts to establish the papal authority in Germany; the electors, enraged by the extravagance of his claims, would have transferred their allegiance to the anti-pope Felix, had not the Emperor Ferdinand III. intervened. By his mediation Eugenius was induced to withdraw his odious pretensions, to promise a redress of grievances, to adopt several restrictions imposed on the papacy by the councils of Constance and Basil, and to issue a bull convoking a new general council. The pontiff did not long survive the mortification produced by this disappointment; he was succeeded by a prelate equally clever and courageous, who took the name of Nicholas V.

Nicholas V. commenced his reign by issuing anathemas against his rival Felix, whose authority was only recognised in a small portion of Switzerland. That country had not only adopted the reforms in discipline projected by the council of Basil, but had exhibited symptoms of hostility to many favourite doctrines of the Church. The Lol-

lards, the Beguards, the Vaudois, and other reformed sectaries, persecuted in every other part of Europe, found shelter in the Helvetian mountains, and secretly denounced the usurpations of the papacy and the abuses of the Christian doctrine; through the passes of the Rhætian Alps they opened communication with the Hussites in Bohemia, and the Paulicians in Bulgaria; they had given zealous support to the council of Basil, because they expected that this great assembly would prepare some plan of extensive reformation, and they clung to this hope long after the selfishness of the assembled prelates had proved that real reforms would not be supported by men with whose interests they clashed.

The council abandoned its vocation and its strength when it turned away from examining the condition of the Church, and made itself a mere engine of state policy; it sought the protection of monarchs, and rejected the support of the people. The European sovereigns availed themselves of the noble resistance made by the council to the Roman court; they wrested from the latter concessions which ensured their supremacy over the clergy in their respective states, but when this object was gained they sought reconciliation with the pope, and abandoned the cause of the prelates at Basil. Charles VII. adopted most of the council's decrees, in the Pragmatic Sanction, which secured the liberties of the Gallican Church, and then sent ambassadors to Pope Nicholas, not only tendering obedience, but

proffering the powerful mediation of France, to induce the Duke of Savoy to resign his pontifical title, and thus terminate the schism.

Frederic III., who was at the head of the empire as King of the Romans, profited by the council to effect some important changes in the government of the churches within his dominions, but when his ends were accomplished, he hastened to procure the friendship of the Romish court; his chancellor, Æneas Sylvius, the eloquent secretary of the council, lent the aid of his talents to combat the cause he had previously advocated. Finally, many of the prelates and cardinals, who had been most remarkable for their zeal in supporting the liberties of the Church, were gained over by the bribes of Nicholas, who also tried the influence of gold on the magistrates of Switzerland, and the counsellors of Basil.

Abandoned by their former supporters, menaced by the chief powers of Europe, reduced in numbers and diminished in dignity, the remnant of the council removed from Basil to Lausanne, and there closed its sittings. Felix abdicated the pontificate, on condition of retaining some barren privileges, which Nicholas conceded without reluctance. Grateful for the services performed by Charles VII., Nicholas wished to deliver that monarch from the embarrassments of the English war; the civil dissensions between the houses of York and Lancaster were, however, more efficacious than the papal recommendations; the English conquests in France were

gradually lost; the invaders never recovered from the blow inflicted upon them by the Maid of Orléans; disunited France yielded to united England, and when the internal state of the two countries was reversed, the fortune of the war underwent a similar change.

The Emperor Frederic hoped, by the favour of the pope, to establish his authority in Italy; but the princes of Lombardy refused obedience: Francesco Sforza succeeded the Visconti in the duchy of Milan, not by hereditary right, but by fraud, perfidy, and violence; Florence fell under the power of the Medicis; the Venetian republic extended its dominions on the main-land, and all disregarded the antiquated claims of the emperor, whose personal character was by no means calculated to add to their weight. He visited Rome shortly after the termination of a jubilee, which had brought profit to the pope, but the plague to the city, and was solemnly crowned, without taking the usual oath of allegiance to the pontiff. But his open sale of dignities gave general offence; even the venal Italians were disgusted at witnessing so scandalous a traffic.

While the Western Empire was thus disgraced, the Empire of the East ceased to exist. Constantinople was taken by the Turkish Sultan, Mohammed II.; the last Byzantine sovereign, Constantine Palæologus, with forty thousand Christian warriors, perished in its defence; the bulwark of Christendom was destroyed, and terror diffused through Europe

(A. D. 1453). Rome had reason to dread the fate of her ancient rival; Italy might have fallen under the same yoke as Greece, had not the Turks stopped short in their career, not checked by the Christians, but enervated by their own vices.

The last Constantine displayed heroism worthy of a better fate, in his final struggle to prevent the establishment of Mohammedanism in Europe; the bravery of a soldier was united to the piety of a Christian, in the fortitude with which he encountered death. But the Western princes, either unconscious of his imminent peril, or reckless of his fate, offered him no aid; the pope, not quite assured of the sincerity of his submission to Rome, only sent a legate, whose presence increased the danger of the city, by rousing the conscientious scruples of the schismatic Greeks; Genoa, and some of the maritime cities of Italy were the only Christian powers that aided in the defence of Constantinople, and they were influenced by their commercial interests rather than religious zeal. In the first burst of grief, terror, and indignation, produced by the fall of Constantinople, Pope Nicholas proposed a crusade, but this magic word, which formerly precipitated Europe on Asia, had now lost its influence; it was in vain that exiles, flying from Thrace and Greece, detailed the barbarities and fanaticism of Mohammed II., his massacres even of those who trusted to his faith, his threats that he would stable his horse in the cathedral of St. Peter; it was in vain that

Nicholas offered benedictions and indulgences; his own conduct proved that selfish interests prevailed over the common cause of Christendom, for in the midst of his exhortations he was engaged in establishing his despotic authority over the magistrates of Rome. But even if the pontiff had been sincere, the state of Europe prevented a coalition of its princes; England was harassed by the wars of the Roses; France, slowly recovering from the calamitous invasions of the English, was exposed to danger from the ambitious Dukes of Burgundy, and its sovereign, Charles VII., with difficulty guarded against the parricidal plots of his eldest son; the Kings of Spain and Navarre contended against factions headed by their own children; the Poles were warring against the Teutonic knights in Prussia; Austria, scarcely delivered from the Hussites, was engaged in a fruitless effort to crush the independence of Switzerland; and the Germans, under the feeble Emperor Frederic, wanted the spirit and enterprise to undertake distant expeditions. The victory which Hunniades obtained over Mohammed II., under the walls of Belgrade, delivered Hungary from danger, and seemed to give the European sovereigns safe leisure for indulging their projects and their jealousies.

The only prince who responded to the papal summons was the Duke of Burgundy; he vowed his services to a crusade, with all the pomp of chivalry; but this brilliant farce, for it deserves no better

name, ended in idle boasting. Philip, Duke of Burgundy, was anxious to realize the romances which then formed the favourite literature of Europe; he instituted the order of the Golden Fleece, with the firm persuasion that its knights would rival the paladins of Charlemagne, and that he would himself become the champion of Christendom. At a costly entertainment, the preparations for which occupied several months, he amused his guests by a display of puppets, and other mechanical contrivances, which the luxurious court of Burgundy had brought into fashion; on the tables appeared a church, with its organ, bells, and choristers; a ship-of-war and her crew; a pie, containing twenty-eight musicians; a castle, with turrets, ditch, battlements, and warders: the figures in these strange dishes mimicked life; and though such a display would now be regarded only as a fit amusement for children, in that day it excited the admiration of lords and courtiers. Whilst the guests were admiring the puppet-show, a giant entered the saloon, leading an elephant; a lady, dressed to represent the Church in desolation, dismounted from a tower on the animal's back, and recited a long poem, describing the atrocities of the infidels, and the duty of all Christians to check their progress. The king-at-arms then appeared, having a live peacock perched on his hand, decked with gold and jewels; the duke then, placing his hand on the bird, said with a loud voice, "I make a vow to Almighty God, to the Blessed Virgin Mary, to the

ladies and the peacock, that I will perform the engagements contained in this document." A scroll was then read by the herald, in which the duke bound himself to join in a crusade, and to encounter the Grand Turk in single combat, if he would accept the challenge. All the guests took the same obligation, and further bound themselves to whimsical acts of penance, until their vow should be accomplished. But this strange piece of mummery exhausted the Burgundian treasury: want of money compelled Philip to remain quiet; the death of Pope Nicholas afforded others a pretext for the breach of their engagements, and the fall of Constantinople was soon regarded as an ordinary event, requiring no unusual exertion from Christian princes.

Chapter XVI.

PROPOSED CRUSADES AGAINST THE TURKS.

From A. D. 1454 to A. D. 1491.

Calixtus III., a Spaniard by birth, was elected successor to Pope Nicholas; he began his reign by endeavouring to promote a crusade, but the selfish ambition he displayed rendered his exhortations ineffectual. This pontiff was earnestly bent on the aggrandisement of his family; on the very day of his election he created two of his nephews cardinals, and he resolved to procure the kingdom of Naples for a third. The Cardinal Roderic Borgia subsequently became pope, under the title of Alexander VI.; Louis Borgia failed to acquire a kingdom, but his exertions gave eminence to a family whose crimes have rendered it for ever memorable in history. Alphonso of Arragon had won the kingdom of Naples by his valour, but he had no legitimate children to inherit the prize, and he became anxious to ensure the succession of his natural son Ferdinand. The parliament of Naples recognised the young prince; Pope Eugenius issued a bull establishing his legitimacy, and Pope Nicholas confirmed the concessions of his predecessor. No sooner, however, was the death of Alphonso known,

than the pope published a bull declaring that his kingdom had devolved to the Holy See. Southern Italy was about to be involved in war, when Calixtus was suddenly snatched away in the midst of his projects.

Æneas Sylvius Picolomini was the unanimous choice of the cardinals; he took the title of Pius II., and sent a circular to the European sovereigns announcing his election. The pontiff's previous character seemed to justify the joy occasioned by his elevation; he had been secretary to the council of Basil, chancellor to the Emperor Frederic, and confidential minister to the three preceding pontiffs; his love of literature, his skill in diplomacy, and the tone of moderation which marked his writings, afforded reasonable ground for hope that he would preserve the peace of the Church, and establish harmony in Christendom. It seemed a good omen, when he recognised Ferdinand's claims to the kingdom of Naples, but it was not generally known that the monarch purchased this favour by the payment of a large bribe, and by giving the hand of his sister, with the Duchy of Amalfi as her dowry, to the pope's nephew.

An assembly of the Christian states was summoned to meet at Mantua, that a general league should be formed against the Mohammedans; but the King of France, displeased by the alliance between Ferdinand and the pope, which was injurious to the claims of the house of Anjou on the throne of Naples, refused to join the coalition; and the

princes of Germany were alienated by the revival of the old dispute about investitures. The Archbishop of Mentz, refusing obedience to the pope, was deposed, and a new prelate chosen; a war arose between the rival claimants, and Pius soon showed that he deemed the establishment of his own authority more important than the expulsion of the Turks.

The death of Charles VII. gave new strength to the papacy; Louis XI., his son, and successor on the throne of France, was a monarch to whom history can scarcely ascribe one good action or a single virtue. Eager only to insult his father's memory, Louis consented to abrogate the Pragmatic Sanction, and to allow the apostolic see the same authority it had possessed in his kingdom during the pontificate of Martin V.; but this proceeding was opposed by many of the French prelates, and the University of Paris appealed both from the king and the pope to a future council.

This spirit of independence, so boldly manifested by the University of Paris, was less dangerous to popery than the secret diffusion of the doctrines of the Vaudois and other reformers, which the watchfulness of the Inquisition was unable to check. The Dominicans were first warned of their danger, by observing the boldness of the attacks made on the vices of the clergy, and the favour with which satires against ecclesiastical profligacy were received. They resolved to revive the old persecutions; and

to avert the horror which it was expected that their cruelties would inspire, they accused the Vaudois of practising the most horrible crimes, and using disgusting ceremonies, that outraged every law, human and divine. Sorcery was said to be identified with heresy, and those who refused homage to the saints were said to worship the devil. Some unfortunate women of loose character were seized at Arras; under the torture of the rack they confessed whatever the Inquisition dictated, and on their evidence numerous victims were burned alive. But the extravagance of the inquisitors defeated their object; the popular hatred of their persecutions became so great, that they were forced to abandon many of their intended victims.

The King of France hoped, by ceding the Pragmatic Sanction, to gain the favour of the pope for the house of Anjou; but he soon discovered that the promises of Pius were illusory, and, in his rage, published several edicts hostile to the court of Rome. The pope made many attempts to appease the king, professing that he would concede all which could reasonably be desired, if the European sovereigns would combine against the Turks; yet at the very same time he attempted to open a secret negotiation with Mohammed II., offering to proclaim the sultan Emperor of the East and West, if he would only submit to be baptized. But Mohammed turned a deaf ear to these proposals; he invaded Hungary, took its unfortunate monarch Stephen prisoner, and

ordered him to be put to death by torture. The widowed queen fled to Italy, where she bequeathed to the Holy See her rights to her kingdom, and the shame of having allowed it to be usurped by the Infidels. The distracted state of Italy engaged the attention of Pius; the King of France was harassed by a rebellion of his nobles, who had united in a coalition, called the League of Public Safety; both the king and the pontiff contended against their enemies by craft and policy rather than arms, but the latter had not abandoned all care of Christendom, and he declared that he would personally lead a crusade against the Turks. The desire of pay and plunder induced many German soldiers to offer their services; great numbers believing that provisions and arms would be supplied at Ancona, the place of rendezvous, entered Italy in rags, supporting themselves by begging on the road. The pope had no supplies ready for these recruits; prayers and indulgences were bad substitutes for food and pay; many deserted, others were necessarily dismissed, and a great number perished with hunger. Pius did not survive the disappointment; his last act was to assemble the cardinals, and recommend unanimity in the choice of his successor.

Paul II. resumed the design of a general crusade against the Turks, while he adopted a course of policy which perpetuated disunion in Christendom; he aided Ferdinand in expelling the partisans of Anjou from Naples, and subsequently quarrelled

with that monarch respecting certain fiefs and arrears of tribute claimed by the Holy See; he attacked Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, who was suspected of favouring the Hussite doctrines, and he sent a legate to Louis XI. to claim the definitive revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction (A. D. 1465). The crafty monarch had just terminated his war against the League of Public Safety by the treaty of Conflans; in another treaty, against which he privately recorded his protest, he readily consented to the papal demands, hoping that he would thus obtain absolution for his perfidy; the Parliament and University of Paris, however, not only refused to sanction the royal concessions, but solemnly appealed to a general council. The troubled politics of Italy soon engaged the pontiff's attention; the inheritance of Cosmo de Médicis had given rise to new contests, which the intrigues of Paul fomented and embittered. The Duke of Modena, whose family policy, during the greater part of the preceding century, had been directed to securing the pacification of Italy, was persuaded that the discords of the great powers was the only security for the independence of the smaller states; the Florentines were led to expect the pope as their ally against the Venetians, the only state that supported the war against the Turks; and thus while the Roman court most vehemently urged a crusade, its policy increased the disunion of all the Christian states likely to join in such an expedition.

In northern Europe, Paul's intrigues were incessant; he hated Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, and incited the Silesian subjects of that monarch to rebellion. Podiebrad triumphed over the insurgents, upon which the pope, asserting that the true catholics were subjected to unjust persecution, offered the Bohemian crown to Casimir, King of Poland, or any one of his sons. Casimir was reluctant to accept an offer which would have involved him in a dangerous war; the German princes declared that they would not permit Bohemia to be united to Poland, and even the feeble emperor protested against the pope's claim to dispose of kingdoms. Paul then turned to Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, the son-in-law of Podiebrad; whether from ambition or mistaken zeal, this monarch accepted the proffered crown of Bohemia, and, to gain the approbation of the pope, or additional dominion, abandoned the defence of his frontiers against the Turks, and led an army into Moravia. Podiebrad prevailed upon the states of his realm to settle the succession on Ladislaus, son to the King of Poland, and thus deprived Matthias of his chief support.

The Emperor Frederic III., having visited Rome to accomplish a vow of pilgrimage, Paul trusted that he might find in him a submissive ally, especially as the emperor courted every humiliation which could show the superiority of the spiritual power over the temporal. This unworthy successor of

Otho, knelt before the pope's footstool to kiss his feet, held his stirrups when the pontiff went out to ride, and read a part of the church service to his holiness, after having exchanged his imperial robes for those of a sub-deacon. Paul soon found that no energetic aid could be obtained from so feeble a prince, and he began to court the Duke of Milan, brother-in-law of Louis XI., by whose aid he hoped to become the arbiter of central and southern Italy; but this prince, offended by the pope's conduct towards the King of France, refused the proffered alliance.

French history contains nothing more remarkable than the rashness with which the crafty Louis XI. put himself into the power of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, at Peronne. The revolt of Liege afforded the furious Charles a pretext for arresting his sovereign; he detained Louis a prisoner, until he consented to sign a humiliating treaty. The Cardinal Ballue had advised the king to encounter this danger, but it is not known whether he had been bribed to betray his sovereign. It is however certain, that he was discovered to be in correspondence with the Burgundian court, shortly after the liberation of Louis; and that his intercepted letters gave full proof of his treasonable practices. Louis would have sent the treacherous cardinal, and his associate, the bishop of Verdun, to execution without delay, had not his superstition led him to seek the sanction of the pope, before offering vio-

lence to ecclesiastics. Paul had no love for the cardinal, whose admission into the college he had opposed, and whose treachery to himself he more than suspected, but he resolved to maintain the privileges of ecclesiastics, and their exemption from the jurisdiction of temporal courts. Louis yielded so far as to request that the pope should name commissioners to examine the culprits; Paul delayed his compliance, but permitted the king to detain them in custody. Louis ordered the cardinal and the bishop to be confined in iron cages, eight feet square, and in these horrible prisons they were detained ten years. It must diminish our sympathy for the cardinal's sufferings to learn, that he was the original inventor of these cages.

While Paul opposed the King of France, excited a civil war in Bohemia, and fomented the discords of Italy, the common interests of Christendom were forgotten, and the Turks continued to acquire new territories. But alarm became general when it was known that the Turks had succeeded in establishing a naval power, and were besieging Negropont, the capital of the ancient Eubœa. The fall of Negropont was announced before any effective measures could be taken for its relief; all the males were put to death by torture, and the garrison of the citadel massacred, in defiance of a capitulation.

The success of the Turks in the Archipelago, was followed by an irruption into Carniola; the presence of the Mohammedans in one of the

hereditary provinces of the Austrian family, was so dangerous to the empire, that Frederic III. convoked a diet, while Paul accommodated his differences with the Venetians, and, in conjunction with their republic, opened negotiations with Uzún Kazím, who had just wrested the kingdom of Persia from the descendants of Tamerlane. But the indolence of Frederic, and the death of Paul, dissolved the league (A. D. 1471); and Uzún Kazím was the victim of his confidence in the promises of the Christians.

Paul II. was the first pope who openly declared himself a foe to the progress of knowledge; the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire compelled many learned Greeks to become exiles in western Europe, where they diffused a taste for their national literature, which led to the study of the New Testament in its original language. The court of Rome soon discovered the dangers to which its usurpations of power and corruptions of doctrine were exposed by the increase of intelligence; the writings of Wickliffe and the preaching of Huss, were warnings not to be mistaken; learning was not only discouraged, but persecuted; some of the most eminent scholars in Rome were thrown into prison, under pretence of having joined in a conspiracy against the pope; they were cruelly tortured; Paul visited their dungeon to insult their misery, and the chief ground of his reproaches was their attachment to profane literature. But learning found patrons outside the precincts of the Church; the Médicis at

Florence encouraged men of letters to frequent their brilliant court, and in some degree atoned for the destruction of the Florentine liberties, by the lustre of the arts and sciences which adorned their administration.

It was a fatal mistake of the pope to imagine that the progress of intelligence could be checked by the punishment of a few men of letters; tortures only added the merit of martyrdom to their fame, and bigotry served only to precipitate events, which no course of policy could arrest. The rack, the dungeon, and the steel, furnish no obstacles to the progress of the human mind; intelligence only presents a new object of glory to be won, when its cultivation is surrounded by dangers. Ignorance, and bigotry is more frequently the offspring of ignorance than policy, when it employs brute force to suppress knowledge, only raises a smoke that blinds its own eyes; the hateful light may be excluded from its own contracted sphere of view, but it bursts through the clouds beyond, and lends its radiance to the distance.

Sixtus IV., the successor of Paul, was a man of obscure birth, who had raised himself into notice by some theological treatises; his elevation was principally owing to his promise that he would respect the privileges claimed by the cardinals, a promise which he was not disposed to observe very scrupulously. Immediately after his election, he declared his design of convoking a general council at the

Lateran, to consult about the reformation of the Church, and the organisation of a crusade against the Turks. But the emperor objecting to the place of meeting, the design of a council was laid aside, and four legates were sent to traverse Christendom, with authority to mediate between hostile princes, and rectify ecclesiastical abuses. During their absence Sixtus directed his entire attention to increasing the dignity of his family; no pontiff ever carried nepotism to a greater extent; in fact, the enriching of his nephews became the chief objects of his policy. Ferdinand of Naples obtained a quittance of all arrears, and the restoration of the fiefs which Paul had seized, on giving his natural daughter in marriage to a nephew of Sixtus: so great, indeed, was the pope's partiality for the children of his sister, and so profligate were the Roman manners at the time, that Sixtus was generally believed guilty of incest.

The legates were not very successful in their embassies; the cardinal of St. Mark could not reconcile the rival claimants to the crown of Bohemia: Ladislaus had quietly succeeded on the death of Podiebrad, but Matthias refused to abandon his pretensions, hoping by an alliance with the emperor to counterbalance the power of the King of Poland. Cardinal Bessarion was refused admittance into Paris, because he had provoked the jealousy and wounded the vanity of Louis XI., by a previous visit to the Duke of Burgundy. Borgia, who undertook the

Spanish mission, threw the peninsula into confusion by his intrigues and his avarice. The legate to Scotland was not admitted into that kingdom.

Subsidies for a crusade were raised to a small amount; with these a fleet was prepared under the command of Cardinal Caraffa, which, being joined by squadrons from Naples and Sicily, succeeded in taking and plundering Smyrna. For this trifling victory, Caraffa received the honours of a triumph, and the trophies taken from the Turks were solemnly deposited in the Vatican. But the sultan had more than compensated his loss by gloriously terminating his war against Persia, which enabled him to direct all his forces to extend his conquests westwards (A. D. 1475). The celebration of a jubilee added little to the crusading resources; Sixtus seized all the contributions of the pilgrims for himself, and obstinately refused to lend any aid to the Venetians. He was offended by the league that they had formed with the Florentines and the Milanese against the King of Naples, and he sacrificed the interests of Christendom to the paltry politics of Italy.

Scarcely had the jubilee terminated, when a plague at Rome was the signal for reviving religious controversy. As a means of removing this calamity, the pope published a bull for celebrating the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, promising indulgences to all who should recite the office in private, or assist at it in public. Several religious

bodies both wrote and preached against the bull, declaring that it was a mortal sin to believe in the Immaculate Conception, and a crime to be present at the celebration of the office.

Though Louis XI. had dismissed Cardinal Bessarion, he was not prepared to break with the pope, by whose anathemas he hoped to be aided against Charles the Bold. Tedious negotiations commenced between the king and the pontiff, which were protracted by the obstinate resolution of the French parliament, to maintain the liberties of the Gallican Church. But when the Duke of Burgundy was defeated by the Swiss, and when the weakness of Edward IV. delivered France from the dread of English hostility, Louis no longer disguised his enmity to the papal court; he published several edicts derogatory to its authority, threatened to assemble a general council, and issued letters patent for the convocation of a national synod.

But a series of wars, resulting from assassinations, tended still more to embroil the courts of Rome and Paris. Sforza, Duke of Milan, was murdered in the church of St. Ambrose, and the Milanese, instead of taking this opportunity to establish their freedom, submitted to the government of the duchess, who ruled as guardian of her infant son. Aware that the murder of the duke was designed to favour the Neapolitan party, the Milanese renewed their alliance with the Venetians and the Médicis of Florence. Sixtus was greatly alarmed by a league

which threatened ruin to his projects for the aggrandizement of his family, and he secretly joined in a conspiracy for the murder of the Médicis.

Jerome, the favourite nephew or son of Sixtus, went to Florence with the Cardinal Riario, and immediately joined the Pazzi, and Salviati, Archbishop of Pisa, who had long been opposed to the rulers of Florence. It was resolved that Julian and Lorenzo Médicis should be slain in the Church, during the celebration of mass, when they would be completely off their guard; one of the conspirators recoiled, not from the crime, but from the place where it was to be committed; his place was supplied by a priest, whose familiarity with the altar had only taught him to despise its sanctity. The hour arrived; the Cardinal Riario led the choir, whose voices drowned the whispers of preparation; mass was celebrated with more than usual solemnity, the archbishop elevated the host as the signal for murder, and Julian de Médicis fell beneath the daggers of the assassins. Lorenzo, though severely wounded, escaped into a sacristy, protected by a gate of bronze, which his father had presented to the Church, and ere the conspirators could force an entrance they found themselves exposed to the fury of popular indignation. The Florentines flew to arms; they rejected the boon of liberty proffered by the assassins; they seized Salviati, the Pazzi and their accomplices, and, without the formality of a trial, hanged them in front of the senate-house.

Sixtus, enraged at the failure of the conspiracy, and the punishment of the ecclesiastical assassins, laid the city of Florence under an interdict, declared war against the republic, and, aided by the Neapolitans, sent an army into the Florentine territories. Lorenzo de Médicis, strong in the support of his fellow-citizens, refused submission to the papal demands, and obtained aid from the King of France, and the Dukes of Milan, Ferrara, and Mantua. But Louis XI. did not give the effectual assistance that was expected; vainly endeavouring to hide from himself and others the symptoms of approaching death, the aged tyrant was anxious to avoid anything that would require exertion, or force him to appear in public. He also dreaded the Archduke Maximilian, to whom the rich inheritance of Burgundy had devolved by his marriage with Mary, the daughter of Charles the Bold. Instead, therefore, of sending an army, he only aided the Florentines with three hundred horse, under the command of Philip de Comines, the celebrated historian. Louis, however, published some edicts calculated to terrify the pope; he convoked a synod at Orléans to ratify the Pragmatic Sanction, and recalled all the French prelates from Rome, under penalty of forfeiting their benefices.

Lorenzo de Médicis found means to appease the wrath of the King of Naples, but the pope continued inexorable until the Turks landed in Italy, and stormed the city of Otranto. Sixtus, in great

consternation, listened to offers of peace, but even at this crisis he preserved his haughty spirit; the Florentines did not receive absolution until their ambassadors had submitted to be beaten with rods at the portals of St. Peter's (A. D. 1480). It may appear surprising that the most enlightened people of Italy should submit to such humiliation, but knowledge was confined to an illustrious few; the Florentine populace shared the ignorance and bigotry of the other Italians.

The death of Sultan Mohammed II., and the contest for the succession between his sons Bayezid and Jem, (the Zizim of western historians,) relieved Christendom from the terrors of a Turkish invasion; Sixtus took advantage of the interval to involve Italy in new wars, hoping to profit by the confusion, and obtain territorial acquisitions for his nephews. In concert with the Venetians he attacked the territories of the Duke of Ferrara, son-in-law to the King of Naples; but when Ferdinand proved more formidable than had been anticipated, Sixtus changed sides, and waged war on his former allies. The Venetians, being reduced to great distress, entered into alliance with the Milanese; and the Italian states, weary of a contest which would only have exhausted their mutual resources, agreed upon terms of peace. Sixtus was violently enraged by a pacification, in which his nephews' interests were neglected; he addressed the ambassadors who came to announce the terms with such fury, that he fell

into a fit, and in a few days died of sheer vexation (A. D. 1484) *.

Sixtus dishonoured the papacy by his unscrupulous nepotism,—he sacrificed everything to the one great object of aggrandizing his family: though sincerely attached to literature, he withheld his patronage from learned men; the funds for their pensions, and for the supply of books to the Vatican library, were devoted to advance his nephews. But the indignation of the Roman populace was roused by the ostentation and pride of Jerome; no sooner was Sixtus removed, than the palace of his nephew was destroyed, and Jerome himself compelled to quit the Roman territory.

The new pope was a widower; he had several children before he entered into holy orders, but he did not recognize them until after his election to the papacy. Like his immediate predecessors, Innocent VIII., as the pontiff was called, began his reign by exhorting the Christian princes to bury their differences in oblivion, and join in a crusade against the Turks, whilst he gave them an example to the contrary by declaring war against the King of

* His death, immediately after the conclusion of the peace, gave rise to the following epigram:—

> Sistere qui nullo potuit cum federe Sixtus
> Andito tantum nomine pacis obit.

> Sixtus to peace no treaties ever tied,—
> Nay, when he heard its very name he died.

Naples. After a tedious, desultory campaign, terms of peace were arranged, which both parties resolved to violate on the first convenient opportunity. In the mean time Charles VIII. had ascended the throne of France; unlike his ancestors, he found himself really at the head of a monarchy; the great feudatories had been reduced to obedience; instead of vassals and suzerains, there were now subjects and a king. The empire, also, became hereditary; the elections, which so often deluged Germany with blood, were henceforth mere matters of form; and this increase of the sovereign's independence ensured internal tranquillity to the nation. The Spanish Peninsula was also acquiring organization; Castille and Arragon were united into one kingdom by the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand; Granada, the last relic of the Moorish empire, was subdued, and Mohammedanism disappeared from western Europe. But scarcely was Spain liberated from the Moors, than it imposed upon itself a more degrading yoke; the Inquisition piled its fagots, and ignorance kindled its torches. It is sad to reflect that the most flourishing age of Spain,—the only period which brings its name prominent in history,—when its power predominated in western Europe,—when its armies were renowned for discipline and valour,—when its navies discovered a New World,—is also the age of sanguinary fanaticism, which depopulated America, and ensured both the moral and political degradation of the Peninsula. The kings of Cas-

tille destroyed the effect of every benefit that circumstances at the moment conferred upon Spain, by establishing the Inquisition.

From the time of Constantine's conversion, the Christian states took cognizance of heresy, and punished a difference of opinion as a breach of allegiance. The emperors denounced temporal penalties against those whom the bishops declared separated from the Church, and their laws remained in force until the eleventh century. But heresies still prevailed; the Albigenses, the Vaudois, and the Bohemians, disregarded penal laws, and were deaf to the remonstrances of preaching friars. The crusade against the Albigenses led to the councils of Beziers and Toulouse, by which spies and informers were let loose on private life, and treachery and parricide declared means of salvation. Gregory IX. placed the Holy Office, as the Inquisition was blasphemously named, under the superintendence of the Dominicans, who soon organized the entire system. Ferdinand and Isabella introduced the Holy Office into Spain; it flourished in a soil which has been always so fertile in fanaticism. The name of justice was unknown in its administration, suspicion made the crime, accusation was virtually a sentence, imprisonment the prelude to death. The familiars of the Inquisition were more implicitly obeyed than the officers of the crown; even innocence trembled at their approach: the relatives of a victim dared not mourn for his fate; at the

moment of his arrest they regarded him as dead, and concealed their sorrows in privacy or exile. Sixtus IV. granted immense privileges to a tribunal which not only enlarged his power, but contributed large forfeitures to his coffers, and enabled him to support the extravagance of his family. Ferdinand and Isabella were influenced by avarice as well as religious zeal in supporting this institution; it gave them the means of confiscating the possessions of wealthy Jews, whose riches tempted the spoiler, while their usurious exactions rendered them odious to their Christian debtors. Rabbi Joseph, whose Chronicles have just been published by the Oriental Translation Committee, gives a melancholy account of the sufferings endured by the Jews when they fled to avoid the heat of persecution. As the work is little known, a brief quotation may interest our readers.

"The exiles from Jerusalem were driven away from Spain by command of the wicked ones, Ferdinand, King of Spain, and his wife Isabella, and were thence dispersed into the four wings of the earth. And they went in ships whither the wind allowed them to go, unto Africa and Asia, and the land of Yavan (Greece) and Turkey; and they dwell therein unto this day. And then came upon them many sorrows and afflictions, and the souls of the people became weary on the way. For some of them the Turks killed, to take out the gold which they had swallowed to hide it; and some of them

hunger and the plague consumed; and some of them were cast naked by the captains upon the isles of the sea; and some of them were sold for men-servants and maid-servants in Genoa and its villages; and some of them were drowned in the sea. See, O Lord, and behold whom thou hast afflicted so much that a man should consume the fruit of his loins! For there were among those who were cast into the isles of the sea upon Provence, a Jew and his old father, fainting from hunger, begging bread; and there was no one to break unto him in a strange country. And the man went and sold his little son for bread, to restore the soul of the old man. And it came to pass when he returned unto his father, that he found him fallen down dead, and he rent his clothes. And he returned unto the baker to take back his son, and the baker would not restore him, and he cried out with a sore and bitter cry for his son, and there was none to deliver. . . . . This Isabella was a Satan in those days. And she set searchers and spies over them to see if they walked in the ways of their Messiah or not. And they burned by hundreds many of them for no cause, and all that they had they plundered daily. . . . And now, O God, be not far off; hasten to help us, O Lord! For thy sake we are killed all the day; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter; make haste to help us, O God of our salvation, plead our cause, and deliver us."

The intolerance shewn to the Jews, did not

extend to their possessions; the pope gave a proof that his zeal against the Turks, was not proof against the influence of gold; for on receiving a large bribe, he consented to act as gaoler for the Sultan. Jem, the brother of Bayezid, defeated in his struggle for the crown, sought shelter, first in Egypt, and afterwards in Rhodes. Bayezid paid a sum of money to the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John for detaining the prince, and he was sent to France, where he was confined in a preceptory of the order. Innocent became anxious to obtain possession of this profitable prisoner, and by creating the Grand Master a cardinal, procured Jem's transmission to Rome. A secret treaty was made with the sultan for his safe custody; the pope received a large pension from Bayezid, while he was levying money in every Christian kingdom, under pretence of organising a crusade against that monarch.

Ferdinand III., refusing to pay the tribute stipulated by treaty, was excommunicated; Innocent once more revived the claims of the house of Anjou to that kingdom, and bestowed the investiture of it on the French monarch, who claimed the inheritance of the Angevin family. This interference became the source of many calamities to France and Italy, but an equally unjust assumption of authority restored peace to England. Innocent strenuously supported the claims of Henry Tudor against Richard III., and readily sanctioned Henry's marriage with the heiress of the Plantagenets, by which

the rival claims of the houses of York and Lancaster were united, and the calamitous wars of the Roses ended.

By the intercession of the King of Spain, the pope was once more reconciled to Ferdinand, and a transitory peace restored to Italy (A. D. 1492). Innocent had contrived a balance of power, by which he hoped to render the tranquillity of the peninsula perpetual, but his death, followed by that of Lorenzo de Médicis, at once destroyed the equilibrium, and the ambition of the succeeding pontiff renewed the horrors of war.

It was manifest to the successors of St. Peter and their advisers, that the papacy had never recovered from the blows it had received from the councils of Constance and Basil. The independence of the Gallican Church was in some degree established by the Pragmatic Sanction, which was maintained in spite of the pope's intrigues, and the opposition of Louis XI.; the English ecclesiastics, though not so formally, withdrew themselves from the implicit allegiance which the popes claimed, and the general desire for reform was diffused through Christendom. It was hoped by some ardent spirits, that the Catholic Churches of Europe would form a kind of federative republic, under the presidency of Rome; but the pontiffs would not be satisfied with anything short of despotic authority, which they hoped to grasp at some favourable conjuncture. They were reduced to use

the arts of policy and diplomacy, for armies of crusaders no longer appeared at their summons; but they had not forgotten that periods of confusion and convulsion had been always favourable to the extension of their power. Now, however, that nations were consolidated, and legitimacy established as a rule of succession in the greater part of Europe, opportunities of interference were rarely offered, and the popes were for a season compelled to limit their views to Italy, where their ambition, their avarice, and their nepotism perpetuated discord, and rendered "the fatal gift of beauty" bestowed by Providence on that peninsula, a source of miseries, whose whole force is not yet exhausted.

Chapter XVII.

THE FRENCH WARS IN ITALY.

From A. D. 1492 to A. D. 1505.

In the periods whose history we have contemplated, Popery was an element in the revolutions of every state, and the policy of almost every government; no event signalizing the progress or the decay of nations occurred, by which the Roman court was not more or less directly affected; in most it had an active share. Humble but energetic in its early stages, it embraced a favourable opportunity to seize the sceptre of the Western world, which, in its imperious grasp, became a rod of iron to those who were subdued, and a two-edged sword to those who resisted; it completely realized the poet's description of Fame:

> First small through fear, she swells to monstrous size,
> And stalks on earth and towers amid the skies.

But when Europe began to receive a moral and physical organization, when kings understood their rights, and nations learned at once the meaning and the value of independence, both became jealous of a power, whose undefined claims to supremacy were felt to be perilous to the security of monarchs, and the integrity of their kingdoms. At this juncture,

the cardinals, as if they had resolved to provoke the hostility of every one who could exercise his reason, raised to the chair of St. Peter, not so much a wicked pope, as an abandoned family. Alexander VI. had provoked general censure by his notorious immoralities while a cardinal, but he was only one of the Borgias; there were other members of the family, who surpassed even him in ostentatious depravity.

Some account of the domestic affairs of Alexander is necessary to an understanding of the policy of his pontificate. While yet a cardinal, he lived in open concubinage with Vanozza, a Roman lady, by whom he had four sons and one daughter. He purchased for his eldest son Peter a duchy in Spain, but on his death he transferred the duchy to his third son John, who married the natural daughter of Alphonso, Duke of Calabria. Cæsar Borgia, the second son, a monster of profligacy, was at first created a cardinal, but he had the grace to abandon his ecclesiastical title for that of Duke of Valentinois. Geoffry, the youngest son obtained a principality in Naples. Lucretia, as the daughter was called by a species of prophetic and bitter irony, married a Spanish nobleman before her father's elevation; she procured a divorce from him, and gave her hand to the Prince of Pesaro; a second divorce enabled her to procure as her third husband a natural son of the King of Naples; finally, murder set her free to take as a fourth spouse the Duke of Ferrara. Like her father, Lucretia had little respect for chastity; her

gallantries excited universal disgust, but dread of her skill in procuring assassinations silenced clamour.

The choice made by the cardinals surprised and alarmed all Italy; but the cause admitted an easy explanation; Borgia possessed immense wealth, and every vote in his favour was purchased at an extravagant price. No resistance, however, was offered; the Romans applauded a pontiff who was likely to bring wealth to their cities, and the kings of Europe congratulated the new vicar of Jesus Christ, without troubling themselves to investigate his character. Ferdinand of Naples alone had a presentiment of coming troubles; he declared to his queen, with tears in his eyes, that the new pope would be the scourge of Christendom. Nor was it long before Ferdinand's fears were justified; Alexander, irritated by the refusal of the Duke of Calabria's daughter to marry one of his sons, entered into alliance with Louis Sforza, the usurper of Milan, and joined him in inviting the King of France to make good his claims to the throne of Naples. Charles VIII. willingly listened to these proposals; he had formed the wild project of restoring not only the empire of Constantinople but the kingdom of Jerusalem; he wanted a port in the Mediterranean to equip his armament, and he resolved to make the conquest of Naples a preliminary to his future operations.

The pope was seriously alarmed when he found that the King of France was resolved to accept the invitation, which was designed only to alarm the

Princes of Arragon; he, therefore, readily accepted Ferdinand's offers of accommodation; on the marriage of his son to the daughter of the Duke of Calabria, he promised to ensure the kingdom of Naples to the reigning dynasty. But while thus compelled to use perfidy in order to gain a petty principality, he issued a bull disposing of half the globe. Being informed that the discovery of America might raise difficulties between the maritime powers, he ordained that Ferdinand and Isabella, and their heirs, should have the exclusive right to all lands discovered beyond a meridian line drawn a hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, requiring, however, that the Spanish monarchs should employ competent missionaries to instruct the natives in the Christian faith.

The death of Ferdinand entangled the pope more deeply in Neapolitan politics; Alphonso, that monarch's successor, secured Alexander's favour by promising to provide for his natural children: Cardinal Borgia was, therefore, sent to Naples, where he performed the ceremony of coronation. Charles VIII. was still resolute in his determination to invade Italy; fear of that monarch, and the solid advantages derived from the friendship of Alphonso, reduced Alexander to a miserable state of perplexity; at one time he levied troops which he placed under the command of Prosper Colonna, a creature of the French king's, and invited Charles to become the champion of Christendom against the Turks; at

another, he united himself more closely with Alphonso, informing the French ambassador that it was the duty of Christ's vicar to prevent the effusion of blood; a cardinal's hat was offered as a bribe to the royal favourite, if he would dissuade Charles from the expedition. But the French monarch, naturally ardent, and secretly instigated by the Cardinal Julian de la Rovere, the deadly enemy of Alexander, braved the obstacles of the season, and an exhausted exchequer; he commenced his march from Lyons, with all the pomp of anticipated victory (A. D. 1494). His Swiss troops were more especially dreaded by the Italians, for these mercenaries were equally remarkable for their bravery and their ferocity.

Charles showed little scruple in providing funds for the war; the court of Savoy was then dependent on that of France; and Charles entered Piedmont as if it were one of his own provinces. The regent-duchess came to meet him, arrayed in her most precious jewels, and, in the complimentary language usual at the period, declared that she, her servants, and her property, were at his disposal. Charles took her at her word, and compelled her to give up her jewels, which he pawned for twelve thousand ducats. A month afterwards he treated the Marchioness of Montferrat in the same way; but the money thus dishonourably raised, was wasted in idle pageants, and the expedition was frequently on the brink of ruin.

Alexander now felt that he was the dupe of his own policy, but with the short-sighted cunning of self-interest, he employed the troops which should have opposed the progress of the French, in subduing the castles which the powerful family of the Colonnas possessed in the papal territory. This great error enabled Charles to advance almost without interruption, while it drove the Colonnas into open revolt. In this difficulty the pope leagued himself more closely with the King of Naples, implored succour from the Emperor Maximilian, whose crown he declared to be in danger, stimulated Ferdinand the Catholic, as the Spanish monarch loved to be called, to employ against the French the money raised in Spain for a crusade against the Turks, and proposed to the Sultan Bayezid a secret treaty of alliance. The Mussulman prince offered three hundred thousand ducats and military support, on condition that his brother Jem should be destroyed; and the pope did not hesitate to earn the wages of assassination.

The Duke of Calabria, a brave and generous prince, was reduced by the weakness, treachery, and cowardice of his allies, the Médicis and the pope, to retreat without the satisfaction of a battle. Charles advanced to Rome; his army was the least of the terrors with which his approach inspired Alexander; he heard with dismay proposals for a general council, for the trial of a profligate pontiff, and for the reform of the Church. Rome opened its gates to the French; the pope sought shelter in the castle of

St. Angelo, from which he had daily the mortification of seeing the triumph of his enemies.

Eighteen cardinals demanded that Alexander should be brought to trial; Savonarola, an ardent Dominican preacher, earnestly proclaimed the necessity of correcting all ecclesiastical abuses. But Charles was impatient of delay; Naples was his first object, and Rome appeared to him of secondary importance; the councillors who surrounded him were covetous of the dignities and benefices with which the pope was willing to purchase their treachery, and they dreaded a reform of the Church, because one of the first steps in the process would be to set bounds to their ambition. Briçonnet, eager to become a cardinal, persuaded his royal master to commence a negotiation; both parties hastened to bring it to a conclusion: on the 11th of January, 1495, the treaty of peace was signed.

Alexander, according to the terms of the treaty, admitted French garrisons into his fortresses, and resigned to Charles the unfortunate Prince Jem, having first taken the cruel precaution to give him a dose of poison. Alphonso fled from Naples, after having resigned the crown to his son Ferdinand, but the young prince was unable to inspire his subjects with courage; Naples submitted to the French almost without the shadow of resistance. But the hour of triumph was the commencement of disappointments to Charles; the death of Jem prevented him from exciting a civil war in Turkey; his soldiers

were corrupted by the luxuries of southern Italy; the Neapolitans were enraged by the insulting conduct of the French and Swiss; and the king's intrigues in Greece were revealed to Bayezid by the Venetians and the pope, an act of treachery which caused the massacre of fifty thousand Christians. Finally, the Duke of Milan, disappointed in the hopes he had formed of aid in his own schemes from the French, and suspicious of the claims of the house of Orléans on his duchy, joined Alexander in organizing a formidable league against France. The emperor, the Venetian republic, the kings of Castille, Arragon, and at a later period England, several minor Italian states, and the Turkish sultan, entered into the league, and a treaty, offensive and defensive, was signed at Venice. Charles VIII., fearing that his retreat might be intercepted, abandoned Naples; the victory of Fornovo secured his safe return, and his arrival in France saved Guienne and Picardy from the attacks with which, in contempt of treaties, they were menaced by the emperor and the King of Spain. Maximilian and Ferdinand the Catholic were worthy sons of a Church that had such a head as Alexander, they unscrupulously violated oaths and treaties; they recognized no policy but perfidy and deception.

Aided by some Spanish troops commanded by the celebrated Gonsalvo Hernandes, Ferdinand easily recovered the kingdom of Naples; Alexander zealously supported this new revolution, which so

enraged Charles, that he threatened to return to Italy. But the exhausted state of his finances, and his love of pleasure, detained him at home, though the threat alone produced such alarm as to prove that victory would not have been difficult.

Rome, under the administration of the Borgias, was disgraced by every possible crime; the dagger and the poisoned bowl were used to remove every one whom this wicked family viewed with envy or suspicion; but a shocking tragedy in their own domestic circle effaced, by its enormity, the memory of their former crimes. The infamous Lucretia was the object of incestuous passion to both her brothers, —the Duke of Gandia, and the Cardinal; her preference of the former maddened Cæsar, and he added fratricide to incest. When Alexander discovered that his favourite son had fallen by a brother's hand, his stern nature was for a moment overcome; he deplored his misery with tears, in the consistory, confessed the wickedness of his former life, and nominated several cardinals, by whose advice he solemnly promised to regulate his future conduct, and reform the morals of his court. But in a very few days these good resolutions were abandoned; Cardinal Cæsar was not only pardoned, but taken into favour, and the pontiff returned to his former career of crime with fresh vigour.

There was but one man in Italy who openly testified his indignation at these scandalous transactions, Savonarola, a Dominican of eminent fame

and great authority at Florence. This bold reformer not only preached against the abuses of the Church to his countryman, but wrote to the emperor, and the kings of England, France, Spain, and Portugal, exhorting them to purify the Church, "which was corrupted from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot; and to remove, by the authority of a general council, the abomination of desolation which stood in the holy place." Alexander prohibited the monk from preaching, and summoned him to appear before the papal tribunal. Savonarola refused obedience, and was for a time supported by his fellow-citizens, though the pope threatened them with the penalties of excommunication. Several of the Dominican monks joined Savonarola, the Franciscans took the opposite side, and the dispute between the two orders was conducted with more than the ordinary rancour of theological controversy; at length it was resolved that the controversy should be decided by the fiery ordeal; and a day was appointed for a champion on each side to establish the truth by walking through the flames. When the time of trial arrived, the Dominican refused to enter the fire unless he took with him the consecrated wafer; the Franciscans refused to permit "the body of the Lord" to be used as an amulet or charm, and the disagreement was made a pretext for abandoning the ordeal. In consequence of this failure, Savonarola suddenly lost all his reputation; he was arrested with two of his companions, brought

to trial, convicted of heresy, and delivered to the executioner. The populace saw him brought to the stake without making an effort for his rescue; he died as he had lived, protesting against the corruptions of Christianity, and denouncing the iniquity of the papacy.

In the mean time Charles VIII. fell a victim to intemperance, and the Duke of Orléans ascended the throne of France as Louis XII. As a descendant in the female line from the family of the Visconti, Louis had some claims to the duchy of Milan, and, as heir to the house of Anjou, he styled himself King of Jerusalem and the Two Sicilies; the whole strength of France was engaged to support his pretensions; pride and self-interest procured him the alliance of the pope. Alexander had recently permitted Cæsar to resign his cardinalship, and had endeavoured to procure for this monster a wife from the royal family of Naples. The pope's offers were indignantly spurned, and he never forgave the contumely.

Another circumstance contributed to bring the King of France into close union with Alexander; in his youth Louis had been forced to marry the daughter of Louis XI.; she was ugly and barren, and had never won a share in her husband's affections; Anne of Britanny, widow of Charles VIII., had created an interest in the bosom of his successor; a divorce from his first wife, and a bull sanctioning his marriage to the heiress of Britanny,

so gratified Louis, that he created Cæsar Borgia Duke of Valentinois, and gave him a large pension. Thus passion and policy rendered the best of kings the instrument and accomplice of the most profligate of pontiffs.

Such an alliance was the signal for war in Italy (A. D. 1499): Louis crossed the Alps at the head of an army which no Italian forces could resist; the whole of the Milanese territory was subdued with little difficulty, while Cæsar Borgia made himself master of the cities in Romagna,—a territory ceded to the Church by Charlemagne, but usurped by the feudal lords during the residence of the popes at Avignon.

The commencement of the sixteenth century was marked by the celebration of a Jubilee; indulgences were sold throughout Europe, and a tenth of the money thus raised was given to the Venetians, under the pretence of aiding them in their wars against the Turks, but in reality as a bribe to secure their neutrality in Italy, and especially to purchase their forbearance while Cæsar Borgia subdued Romagna. Louis Sforza suddenly appeared in the Milanese territories with an army of Swiss and Burgundians; he easily recovered his duchy; but, in the midst of his success, he was arrested by his own soldiers, and delivered a prisoner into the hands of the French. This event made Louis XII. absolute master of Lombardy, and alarmed all the Italians except the Venetians and the pope. Alexander

encouraged the French monarch to continue his march to Naples; the Emperor Maximilian threatened in vain, the Venetians remonstrated, even the Swiss in the king's service hesitated. But Louis had secretly negotiated a treaty with Ferdinand the Catholic, for the partition of the states of his relative and ally; the Spanish troops, received into the Neapolitan territories as defenders of the kingdom, suddenly joined the invaders, and the unfortunate Frederic was unable to save his dominions. Capua was stormed by Cæsar Borgia, who took forty of the fairest nuns in the city as his share of the booty; Naples opened its gates to the French, and Frederic, through detestation of the treachery of Spain, resigned his crown to Louis. The abdicated monarch removed to France with his family; he obtained the title of Duke of Anjou, and a considerable pension.

The perfidious treaty between France and Spain was excused by the pretence of uniting the forces of these powerful monarchies to check the progress of the Ottoman empire; but no apology was necessary to Alexander for a course of policy which raised him to be the arbitrator between the greatest sovereigns of the age; and ensured to his favourite son, the Duke of Valentinois, quiet possession of his usurpations. Ever since their return from Avignon the popes had used religious prejudices and political artifices to keep themselves at the head of the Italian leagues; but when they became confede-

rates, they lost the rights of supreme protectors to which they laid claim; the partition of the Neapolitan dominions, and the investitures required by its conquerors, placed Alexander in the predominant position to which his predecessors had vainly aspired, and he used the opportunity to aggrandize his family.

Cæsar Borgia ruled Romagna with great prudence: the justice and moderation of his government reconciled many to the crimes by which he had opened his passage to power, but the very felicity enjoyed by his subjects was regarded as an aggression by the other Italian lords, who suspected that he would make this popularity subservient to his ambition. Several of these nobles accused Borgia to Louis, but Alexander had secured the friendship of the king's confidential minister, by giving him the profitable office of legate in France, and holding out hopes of his eventual succession to the papacy. Supported by this minister, Valentinois destroyed by the sword, the gibbet, or poison, all the rival lords whom he could reach by arms or by perfidy; until Louis, wearied by the complaints against Borgia, was at length induced to set bounds to his ambition by forbidding him to attack Bologna. Once more the Cardinal d'Amboise interfered; he represented that the pope's aid and influence could alone save the kingdom of Naples from becoming the prey of the Spaniards; policy rendered Louis deaf to the voice of generosity, and the French

troops once more were placed at the disposal of Valentinois.

The Borgias made use of the aid granted them by Louis, at the moment that they were secretly preparing to abandon his cause. Gonsalvo, at the head of the Spanish forces, was triumphant in Naples; he gained a decisive victory over the Duke de Nemours at Cerignola, in consequence of which, the French lost all their conquests in southern Italy. Louis sent fresh forces across the Alps to retrieve this disgrace; Alexander knew not which side to take; for a time he observed a suspicious neutrality, waiting for the success of a diabolical plot which he had contrived to recruit his finances. His design was to poison all the rich cardinals and seize the revenues of their several sees: for this purpose he sent several flasks of poisoned wine to the cardinal of Corneto, in whose house it was proposed that they should sup (A. D. 1503). The servant was ordered not to permit any person to taste the liquor; but Alexander and his son Cæsar, coming early to the place of meeting, asked for some wine before supper, and the servant thinking that the prohibited wine must be the most precious, presented a portion of it to the pope. Alexander drained the fatal cup to the dregs, but immediately feeling the symptoms of poison, he prevented Cæsar from drinking so deeply. The pontiff died in a few hours; Cæsar Borgia recovered after a long illness, but so virulent was the poison, that he lost both his skin and his hair.

Great was the joy of the Romans when they learned that

> Even-handed justice
> Transferred the ingredients of the poisoned chalice
> To the contriver's lips;

but though delivered from the tyrant, the city was exposed to other imminent dangers; a French army was in its neighbourhood; Cæsar Borgia held the Vatican and the castle of St. Angelo, garrisoned by twelve thousand men. The cardinals had sufficient firmness to resist the menaces of both; they refused to elect the cardinal d'Amboise, but they compromised matters by choosing an old man on the brink of the grave, who took the title of Pius III. In twenty-six days the pontifical throne was again vacant; Pius offended the court by proposing schemes of reform, and a dose of poison delivered the cardinals from the danger they most dreaded, the correction of abuse.

Julian de la Rovere, nephew to Sixtus IV., anticipating the death of Pius, had secured the suffrages of the Spanish cardinals, and the powerful interest of Borgia; so successful was his canvas, that he was declared pope before the doors of the conclave were fully closed. The new pontiff took the name of Julius II.; the French were displeased that cardinal d'Amboise had not been chosen, and loudly denounced the treachery of Borgia; many months had not elapsed before that chief had reason to regret his breach of faith. Under the pretence of saving

Romagna from the Venetians, Julius insisted that the Duke of Valentinois should surrender the cities he retained in that country; Borgia refused to comply; he was arrested and thrown into prison, where he was forced to sign a resignation of the principality, which he and his father had purchased by so many crimes. After having obtained his liberty, Borgia went to Naples, where he was again arrested and sent to Spain; by order of King Ferdinand, he was detained three years a prisoner in the castle of Medina. Having bribed his guards, he sought refuge with the King of Navarre, and was soon after slain in an obscure skirmish.

But the great object of the policy of Julius was the expulsion of foreigners from Italy, for he trusted that the political independence of the peninsula, would be followed by the establishment of papal supremacy. He was a pontiff suited to the altered circumstances of the Church; boundless ambition, unconquerable courage, and impenetrable dissimulation, fitted him for great achievements. Gregory VII., Innocent VIII., and Julius II., were the most remarkable champions of ecclesiastical sway, and the most deserving the notice of the historian. Gregory was the most enlightened, his ambition was of the highest and purest order; he aspired to mastery over mind, and to base the Church's claim to rule over mankind, on superior intelligence; it was by means of moral power that he endeavoured to subject mankind to the Church, and the Church to the

papacy. Innocent had the same object, but the change in the circumstances of humanity forced him to use different means; the Church had lost the monopoly of knowledge, its moral power was gone, and physical force was the unworthy, but also, the only possible substitute; crusades and armies were used instead of missionaries and preachers, they won a temporary victory, but the acquisitions of violence are not lasting; kings, nobles, and commons were not slow in discovering the folly of religious wars, and they refused to spend blood and treasure at the command of the Roman court, whose victories were at once costly and injurious. Julius ascending the throne at a moment when the claims of the successors of St. Peter to universal supremacy, whether political or intellectual, were no longer tenable, was reduced by the increasing intelligence of the sixteenth century, to limit his ambition to the conservation of Italy, and he flooded Europe with blood to save this last province of the papal royalty. These three popes may be regarded as types of three ages of the Church, and exponents of the progress of humanity and civilization.

Julius II. eagerly sought out enemies for France; the state of the royal family of England gave him hopes, not only of reviving ancient hostilities, but also of re-establishing his own power over that kingdom. Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII., died shortly after his marriage; his widow was deemed a suitable match for Prince Henry, and the pope

granted the necessary dispensations for a marriage within the prohibited degrees. Little did he foresee that the measure by which he trusted to restore the papal supremacy in England, would in a few years lead to its total abolition.

Though resolute in his enmity to France, Julius craftily concealed his hostility, and even engaged Louis to aid him against the Venetians (A. D. 1504). The treaty of Blois was principally formed through jealousy of the Venetians; by this disgraceful transaction, Louis sullied the high character he had hitherto borne; he abandoned his allies, he paid a large sum to the Emperor Maximilian for the investiture of the Milanese, and he consented to the dismemberment of France, in order to form a suitable dowry for his daughter Claude, whom he betrothed to the emperor's grandson, Charles of Luxemburgh, afterwards known in history as Charles the Fifth. But the Venetians, terrified by this menacing treaty, hastened to make peace with Julius, abandoning to him the cities he claimed in Romagna, and the pontiff without scruple withdrew from the confederacy.

The States-General of France remonstrated with their sovereign, against the articles which would have given Burgundy and Britanny to a foreign power; Louis, yielding to the wishes of his subjects, refused to ratify the degrading stipulations of the treaty of Blois. The princess Claude was betrothed to her cousin the Count d'Angoulême, afterwards

Francis I. Thus early began the contest between two princes, whose long-continued rivalry became the moving power of the whole policy of Europe.

The apparent submission of the Venetians enabled Julius to attack other states (A. D. 1507). He expelled Bentivoglio from Bologna, who sought shelter in Venice. Louis XII. abandoned this nobleman to the ambition of his enemy, by the advice of the Cardinal d'Amboise, who was the dupe of his former rival. Julius seemed to hate the French more intensely as he approached their neighbourhood; he encouraged the Genoese to revolt against Louis, and when that monarch prepared to suppress the insurrection in person, he roused the jealousy of Maximilian, by suggesting that the King of France had formed still more dangerous projects, and even aspired to the imperial crown.

These representations were not altogether calumnious; Julius was well acquainted with the ambitious character of the Cardinal d'Amboise, whose machinations he had twice defeated; he knew that if this prelate became pope, Louis would soon find means of securing possession of Italy, in which the blood and treasure of France were now annually and idly wasted. Maximilian assembled a diet at Constance, but when the German troops were ready to march, intelligence arrived that Louis had sent his army back to their usual quarters. Nevertheless, Maximilian persevered in entering Italy; the Venetians routed his forces, and he was forced to

to negotiate with enemies whom he could neither conquer nor deceive.

But this treaty, apparently so honourable for Venice, was fraught with fatal consequences to the republic (A. D. 1507). The pride of the empire was wounded, the jealousy of the French excited, and the hostility of the irascible Julius confirmed. The pontiff never forgave the shelter that had been accorded to his enemy Bentivoglio, and the refusal of the bishopric of Vicenza to one of his nephews; he organized a formidable league against the Venetians, and their republic was soon called upon to defend itself against the aggressions of confederated Europe.

Chapter XVIII.

THE LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION.

From A. D. 1508 to A. D. 1542.

Venice was the most powerful and richest state of Italy; its civil constitution, established on a firm basis, had suffered no considerable alteration for several centuries; the senate adhered to the maxims of policy by which the republic had grown into greatness with uniform consistency,—a circumstance which gave their commonwealth a decided advantage over those states whose forms of government, and rules of conduct, were changing with the persons who guided the administration. It had long taken the lead in resisting the Turkish empire; it was, indeed, the great bulwark of southern Europe against the rapid progress of Turkish domination. This honourable post ought to have ensured it the favour of those who called themselves the protectors of Christendom, and checked the hatred and jealousy with which its glory inspired ambitious neighbours. But the eminence of Venice was well calculated to excite the enmity of those monarchs and princes who had claims on the Italian peninsula; absolute governments, in such a limited space, feel that the destruction of free states is a condition of their

existence, and they were hurried to attack Venice by the instinct of self-preservation.

But the Venetian republic had committed a grievous error of policy; it owed all its prosperity to commerce, but this began to be abandoned through lust of conquest. The sea was the natural element of the republic,

> Its march was o'er the mountain-waves,
> Its home was on the deep;

but, in an evil hour, the Venetian rulers became ambitious of extending their territories on the continent, and the waters of the Adriatic were abandoned for the plains of Lombardy.

The dissensions and feebleness of the popes had induced the Venetians to violate the Patrimony of St. Peter; their government, whose policy was so famous, misunderstood the principle that Rome never pardons an attack nor forgives a defeat. Treaties and oaths are but veils for pontifical resentment, and weakness itself only a reason for adjourning claims, whose force is supposed to be immortal. Julius II. was resolved to be the sole master of Italy, and, with consummate ability, he organized a league against the Venetians, the members of which were separated by the most discordant interests, and who only agreed in being the tools of the ambitious pontiff.

Maximilian hoped to revive the ancient power of the Roman empire; Louis XII. expected to secure

the inheritance of the Visconti, and the house of Anjou; perhaps, even to re-establish the power which the French monarchs possessed in the days of Charlemagne: Ferdinand trusted to regain the whole of the Neapolitan kingdom. By the active exertions and consummate skill of Julius, the alliance between these rival monarchs was signed on the 10th of December, 1508; and scarcely was it completed, when the pope offered to sell a separate peace to the Venetians, on the condition of their restoring the places of which they had taken possession within the papal territories. But Venice was still the richest state in Europe; it is true the Portuguese were soon to wrest from them the Indian trade, but commerce still flowed in its accustomed channels; the senate had men and money; the chief men of the state trusted that the sharers in the treaty would soon quarrel among themselves, and instead of making any effort to divert the storm, they calmly waited its approach.

The impetuous valour of the French disconcerted all the precautions that had been taken for the safety of the republic, and the fatal battle of Ghianaddada totally ruined the Venetian army. Julius thundered forth bulls of excommunication, which had no other effect than to produce the desertion of some fanatical monks; but at the same time, his soldiers recovered the towns belonging to the Patrimony of St. Peter. Ferdinand re-annexed the cities of which the republic had gained possession, on the

coast of Calabria, to the Neapolitan dominions. Maximilian threatened to attack Venice itself; in short, the ruin of this great maritime state seemed inevitable. But the very rapidity of its success proved fatal to the confederacy.

No sooner had Julius recovered the cities which he claimed, than he displayed his hatred of the barbarians, as he called the French and Germans, who attempted to exercise power over the classic soil of Italy; and the victories of the allied princes excited the jealousies of their neighbours. Bayezid II. offered all his forces to succour his old republican enemies; while the Venetian senate saw that the insolence of the conquerors would stimulate an energetic resistance. Maximilian was the first to suffer some severe reverses, and Louis XII. showed no disposition to render him assistance. The French monarch already felt jealous of the rising power of the house of Austria, which was soon to become so menacing to Europe; and his disputes with the pope announced the speedy termination of the league of Cambray. Julius II. claimed the right of appointment to the bishoprics, whose incumbents died in Rome; Louis XII. rejected the claim, and, to sustain his opposition, seized all the benefices in the duchy of Milan. This proceeding was virtually a declaration of war, and the pope's reconciliation with the Venetians rendered hostilities certain.

In the eyes of Julius, Louis was guilty of two great crimes; he had power in Italy, and he favoured

the pope's old rival, the Cardinal d'Amboise. Personal being thus combined with political rancour, the war between the two potentates promised to be vigorous; the pontiff sought everywhere to excite enemies against the monarch, and this change of polity was the salvation of the Venetians. Ferdinand the Catholic, with his usual perfidy, entered into secret alliance with them, hoping to divert the weight of war from Castille against the empire; he sought power by every means, and he was ably seconded by the Cardinal Ximenes, who, with a spirit very uncommon in a monk, led in person a numerous army against the Moors of Africa, and conquered Oran; and, with a generosity and magnificence still more singular, defrayed the whole expenses of the expedition out of his own revenues.

Henry VIII. had just ascended the English throne; he was anxious to signalize his accession by some enterprise, and his professions of readiness to serve the cause of the pope, were rewarded by the gift of a consecrated golden rose. The Swiss in the service of the French king were instigated to demand an exorbitant remuneration; it was peremptorily refused, upon which they abandoned the royal cause, and enlisted under the papal banners. Thus strengthened, the pope laid aside all further disguise; the Venetians were publicly absolved; but these republicans, who had so often braved the thunders of the Church, submitted to bitter humilitions, as if doing penance for their former resistance,

and accepted the conditions of the most haughty and despotic of conquerors.

War soon commenced; Julius II., investing himself in armour, displayed all the ardour of a young warrior: his first attacks were directed against the Duke of Ferrara; and he hurled the thunders of the Church upon Louis XII., who ventured to defend his ancient ally, as well as against all who embraced the party of the French king. But Louis was not intimidated by the arms or anathemas of his adversary; to the former he opposed his troops, to the latter an assembly of the clergy of his kingdom, and the spirit which animated the convocation justified his confidence. It was resolved that the war should be vigorously sustained, and the conduct of the head of the Church was made the subject of very harsh comments. This national council declared that the papal anathemas were invalid when they were clearly unjust, and it confirmed Louis in his determination not to yield to illegal threats. It did more; it announced the necessity of a general council, it supplicated the king to concert with his allies the means of convoking a free assembly of the prelates of Christendom, and it gave him energy to overcome his own scruples, and the pertinacious bigotry of his queen, who believed that any resistance to the pope was a crime of the greatest magnitude.

But this war of anathemas and councils would not have turned to the advantage of Julius if it had

been sustained by force of arms. The French troops were superior in the field; Julius himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner by the Chevalier Bayard, while he was besieging Mirandola. The pope consoled himself for the fright by making his triumphal entry into this little town, through a breach in its walls, and by seeking out new allies. The Emperor Maximilian was induced to propose a congress at Mantua; but unfortunately for Julius he employed as his ambassador the Bishop of Gurck, long an enemy to the papal usurpations, who had endeavoured to extend the liberties of the Gallican Church to Germany. Inaccessible to the flatteries or bribes of the pope, this prelate treated the pontiff with unexampled haughtiness; sending gentlemen of his suite to discuss conditions with the cardinals, and banishing from his presence the ambassador of the Venetians, whom his master had placed under the ban of the empire. Julius II., having perfidiously violated the truce by an attack on Genoa, the Bishop of Gurck abruptly terminated the negotiations and withdrew. The war was renewed, and the plan of a general council was put into execution. Those cardinals who had fled from the papal court, because the pope had refused to punish his nephew, the Duke of Urbino, for assassinating the Cardinal of Pavia, convoked the council of Pisa, and Maximilian revived his chimerical project of adding the papal to the imperial dignity; but his own unsteadiness on this occasion saved him from further absurdity.

Julius II. was alarmed: unable to separate Louis and Maximilian, he set up council against council, and issued a bull for convoking the prelates of Christendom at Rome, at the same time excommunicating his enemies and the dissident cardinals. But he was too wise to trust solely to spiritual means of defence; he published "the holy league," which the Venetians and Ferdinand the Catholic had formed with him, and in which places were reserved for the Emperor and the King of England (A. D. 1512). Henry VIII. yielded to the papal representations; his subjects, every ready for a war with France, readily granted him subsidies, and it was supposed that Guienne and Normandy would be again subjected to the British crown. Maximilian, with his usual inconsistency, abandoned the cause of Louis; the Swiss menaced both Burgundy and Lombardy with invasion; in fact, the greater part of Europe was banded against France, when the Duke of Nemours, whom Louis destined for the throne of Naples, found both victory and a grave in the plains of Ravenna.

This battle, which seemed to promise the most important results, was only a last ray of glory for the arms of Louis, and a temporary fright to Julius. The pontiff amused the King of France with negotiations, which he assured the ambassadors of Spain and Venice were only intended to gain time. In a brief period Louis felt his power slipping away; Europe was in arms against him; his troops could

no longer defend the duchy of Milan against the Swiss; Spain sent a new army into Naples; while Germany and England menaced his northern and western frontiers. Julius now triumphantly re-established Maximilian Sforza at Milan, and the Médicis at Florence; all now wanting to consummate his glory was the expulsion of the Germans and Spaniards from Italy. Under the pretext of organizing a crusade against the Turks, now disorganized by civil discord, in consequence of Sultan Selim having opened his way to the throne by poisoning his father and murdering his brother, Julius II. ceased to send the stipulated subsidies to the army of Ferdinand the Catholic; but this cunning prince was not to be deceived, and in the hope of preserving by peace the kingdom of Navarre, which he had wrested from the unfortunate John d'Albret, he began secretly to treat with Louis. The French monarch gladly seized the opportunity of breaking the formidable league of his opponents; a truce for a year was actually signed (A. D. 1515); when the death of Julius changed the aspect of affairs, and opened a new series of events which baffled all the vain calculations of politicians.

Leo X., descended from the noble and wealthy house of the Médicis, was chosen to fill the papal throne at this crisis; having calculated the chances resulting from the circumstances of his position, he declared war against Louis, and invited Henry VIII. to invade France, while he attacked the Venetians.

Louis was everywhere unfortunate; Henry VIII. obtained a victory at Guinegatte, called the battle of the spurs, because they were the only weapons used by the French chivalry on that day, and the King of Scotland, the only ally of France, was slain at Floddon Field. Overwhelmed by these reverses, Louis sought peace; he recognised the council of Lateran, and took for his second queen the sister of the King of England.

Louis XII. bequeathed the crown of France to his son-in-law Francis I., and with it his claims in Italy, which had already proved of such fatal consequence (A. D. 1515). The new monarch sold offices and dignities to procure supplies, an army was levied with great celerity, and a glorious victory at Marignano seemed to presage the triumph of the French in Italy. Leo X. immediately entered into negotiations with the young conqueror; the crafty pontiff proposed that a *concordat* should be substituted for the Pragmatic Sanction, which secured the liberties of the Gallican church; the French parliaments vainly resisted the change; but Francis, anxious to extend the royal as well as the papal power, triumphed so far over opposition as to obtain the registration of his edicts, though the Pragmatic Sanction continued to have the force of law in several dioceses.

When Leo ascended the papal throne, he found the treasury exhausted by the long wars of his predecessors, while heavy claims were made upon the

exchequer for the payment of soldiers and political agents, and for the continuance of several public works, especially the cathedral of St. Peter's. To recruit his finances, he adopted an expedient to which his predecessors frequently had recourse,—the sale of indulgences; but he carried this deceptive plan of raising money to an unprecedented extent, not foreseeing that he would thus provoke a dangerous opposition.

The origin of indulgences has been sometimes misrepresented by eminent writers; and as we have now reached a period when their abuse produced the most decisive blow which the papacy had yet received, it will be necessary to take a brief survey of their history. In the primitive church it was customary that those who had committed any heinous offence should perform a public penance before the congregation, "that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord; and that others, admonished by their example, might be the more afraid to offend." In process of time rich and noble offenders became anxious to avoid public exposure, and private penances or a pecuniary compensation were substituted for the former discipline. On this change the popes founded a new doctrine, which, combined with the commutation of indulgences, opened the way for profitable traffic. They taught the world that all the good works of the saints, over and above those which were necessary to their own justification, are deposited, together with the infinite merits of Jesus

Christ, in one inexhaustible treasury. The keys of this were committed to St. Peter and his successors the popes, who may open it at pleasure, and by transferring a portion of this superabundant merit to any particular person for service in a crusade, or for a sum of money, may convey to him either the pardon of his own sins, or a release for any one in whose happiness he is interested, from the pains of purgatory. These indulgences were first issued to those who joined personally in the expeditions for the recovery of the Holy Land; subsequently to those who hired a soldier for that purpose, and finally to all who gave money for accomplishing any work which it pleased the popes to describe as good and pious. Julius II. bestowed indulgences on all who contributed to the building of St. Peter's at Rome, and Leo continued the traffic under the same pretence.

Different orders of monks derived considerable profit from the sale of indulgences, and great indignation was excited among the Augustinian friars when the monopoly of the trade in Germany was granted to their rivals the Dominicans. Tetzel, the chief agent in retailing them, was a man of licentious morals, but of an active spirit, and remarkable for his noisy and popular eloquence. He executed his commission with little regard to discretion or decency, describing the merits of the indulgences in such a blasphemous style of exaggeration, that all men of sense were disgusted, and even the ignorant

began to suspect the worth of pardons for sin dispensed by men whose profligacy was notorious and disgusting. The princes and nobles of Germany were enraged by witnessing the large sums of money drained from their vassals to support the lavish expenditure of the pontiff, and many of the higher ranks of the clergy viewed with jealousy the favour displayed to the monastic orders.

Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar of great learning and indomitable courage, had prepared his mind for the noble career on which he was about to enter by a diligent study of the Holy Scriptures; the question of indulgences early engaged his attention, and he convinced himself that the Bible, which he began to consider as the great standard of theological truth, afforded no countenance to a practice equally subversive of faith and morals. Having vainly sought to procure the suppression of the traffic from the Archbishop of Magdeburgh, he appealed to the suffrages of men of letters, by publishing ninety-five theses condemning the sale of indulgences as contrary to reason and Scripture.

Much has been written respecting the personal character of this daring reformer; his boldness frequently degenerated into violence, his opposition to the corrupt discipline of the Church sometimes passed the bounds of decency; but these errors arose from the circumstances of his position; he was in fact the representative of the public opinion of his age: and before we pass too severe a censure

on the aberrations that sully his career, we must remember that the age had scarcely emerged from barbarism, and that the human mind, as yet unaccustomed to freedom, when suddenly delivered from habitual restraint, necessarily rushed into some extravagances. While hostile writers describe Luther as the vilest of sinners, or the purest of saints, they forget that there is a previous question of some importance, the standard by which his conduct must be measured. We have no right to expect that Luther, engaged in a struggle for life or death, should display the moderation of a modern controversialist, or to look for the intelligence of the nineteenth century at the commencement of the sixteenth; remembering the school in which he was educated, it is reasonable to believe that many monkish absurdities must long have been perceptible in his words and actions; we need not, therefore, deny that he was sometimes wrong, we need not disguise nor palliate his errors, for the cause which he promoted depends not on the character of him or of any other person. His adversaries, however, have never ventured to deny his courage, his sincerity, his integrity of purpose, and his superiority to all pecuniary considerations. He lived and died poor, though Rome would have purchased his return by wealth and dignity, though the leading reformers were ready to reward his perseverance by any grants he might have required.

An honest and impartial testimony is borne to

his character by his cotemporary, the Rabbi Joseph; and as the account given by a Jew of the Reformation is something more than a matter of mere curiosity, the extract is worthy of attention.

"And it came to pass, when the Pope Julius began to build the great high place (St. Peter's Cathedral), which is in Rome, that he sent the Franciscan friars into all the districts of the uncircumcised. And he gave them to loose and to bind, and to deliver souls from perdition. And they departed and cried with a loud voice, saying, 'Take off the ear-rings of your wives and daughters, and bring them for the building of the high place; and it shall come to pass when ye shall come, that ye shall save the souls of your generation from perdition.' And it came to pass, after the death of Julius, that the Pope Leo sent again, and they went as before unto the cities of Ashkenaz (Germany); and they were lifted up. And it came to pass, whenever the Germans would speak, saying, 'How could ye say this thing, and how could the pope do it?" they answered them proudly, saying, 'Ye shall be cursed if ye do not believe; for there is no faith in you, and ye shall be an abhorrence to all flesh.' And there was one Martin Luther, a monk, a skilful and wise man; and he also said unto them, 'Why are ye not ashamed when ye let your voice be heard on high, speaking such dreams?' And the priests could not give an answer, and they behaved with madness after their manner. And they anathematized him

in the year One thousand five hundred and eighteen. And the wrath of Martin was much kindled; and Martin opened his mouth and preached with a loud voice against the pope, and against the dreams and the abominations of the popes; but still he delighted in THAT MAN*, and many gathered themselves unto him. And he made them statutes and ordinances, and spake revolt against the wise men of the church; and he would explain from his own heart their law and the words of Paul; and they went not after the precepts of the popes; and their laws are two different laws until this day†."

Luther comprehended the state of public opinion; his publications were the manifestation of the revolt of reason against authority, rather than a thesis in his theology. His perseverance, the very violence and grossness of his invectives, showed that he felt human reason to be on his side. If he had not at first calculated the effect of his first blow, he showed great sagacity in measuring its results. Numerous echoes responded to his summons; Zuinglius began to preach in Switzerland, and the reform engaged the attention of enlightened men of letters; among others, the celebrated Erasmus pointed out corruptions in the Church, though he had not moral courage enough to separate himself from it openly. The papal party accepted Luther's challenge, fully

* Rabbi Joseph means, that *his* only objection to Luther was, the Reformer's belief in Jesus Christ.

† Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph, vol. i. p. 431.

believing that the slightest exertion of power would at once stifle opposition (A. D. 1520). Leo X., too indolent to examine the state of the public mind, and too proud to trouble himself about the opposition of a simple friar, published a bull condemning the theses of Luther as heretical and impious (A. D. 1520). The bold reformer at once declared open war against the papacy, by appealing to a general council, and burning the bull of excommunication in presence of a vast multitude at Wittemberg. He treated the volumes of the canon law with the same contumely, and justified his action in a manner more offensive to the advocates of the papacy, than the action itself. Having collected from the canon law some of the most extravagant propositions with regard to the plenitude and omnipotence of the papal power, as well as the subordination of all secular jurisdiction to the authority of the Holy See, he published these, with a commentary, pointing out the impiety of such tenets, and their evident tendency to subvert all civil governments. From this time, the interests of princes were even more deeply engaged on the side of Luther than popular reason. In fact, as a Romish historian has remarked, "policy became more Lutheran than religious reform!" Sovereigns naturally received with enthusiasm a doctrine which placed at their disposal the enormous wealth of the clergy, and gave them mastery over more riches than could be acquired by the most formidable force, or the most sanguinary

combats. Thus, in Germany, Luther, who could at first with difficulty procure a horse when he had to appear before the diet, soon counted princes and entire nations among his disciples. Frederick the Wise, Duke of Saxony, was the first among his converts, and the most powerful of his protectors.

It is assuredly very inconsistent in the advocates of the Romish Church, to expose the mixture of secular and religious motives in the active supporters of the reformation; for the abuses which they condemned were equally temporal and spiritual. Indeed, it is very obvious, that the corruptions of doctrine were introduced to serve the political purposes of the papacy; a sordid desire for wealth was the foundation of the system of indulgences, which first provoked the revolt; an ambitious lust for power had caused the subversion of the independence of the national Churches, which it was the earliest object of the Lutherans to restore. Politics influenced the enemies of the papacy only because popery was itself a political system, and because in the struggle that now menaced its existence, it had at once recourse to secular auxiliaries.

From its very origin, Lutheranism was necessarily united to the interests, and consequently to the vicissitudes of policy, and on that field its combat was even more arduous than on the simple ground of religion. Though really an outburst of resistance long growing in the mind against delusions worn out by repetition, yet, to the great mass of mankind, its

origin was identified with the opposition to indulgences; and as this traffic was equally precious to pontiffs and to kings, who shared the profits, the new Emperor of Germany was the natural enemy of the reformers.

Charles V., elevated to the imperial throne after it had been refused by the Duke of Saxony, united in his person the crowns of Spain and the Empire; he possessed the rich cities of Flanders, and had legitimate claims to the domains of the House of Burgundy, which had been incorporated with France. He was ambitious of universal empire, and Francis I. would have failed to save Christendom from the sway of the new Cæsar, had not Luther, with no other weapons than his tongue and pen, boldly placed himself in opposition to the empire and the papacy. Soon after his accession, Charles assembled a diet at Worms (A. D. 1521); Luther, protected by a safe-conduct, appeared before the assembly, and ably defended his opinions. Several of the prelates wished the emperor to violate his pledge and deliver the reformer to the flames, but Charles permitted him to depart in safety. Edicts were, however, issued, which rendered it prudent that he should, for a time, live in retirement; he was concealed in the castle of Wartburg, by the Elector of Saxony, while his opinions secretly spread through northern Germany. The advocates of the papacy took the alarm; the University of Paris condemned the tenets of Luther, and the English king, Henry VIII., wrote

a book against them, which procured for him and his successors, the title of Defender of the Faith.

But Luther had a powerful auxiliary in Leo himself, whose perfidious policy involved all Europe in war: he had concluded a treaty with Francis I., for the partition of the kingdom of Naples; he now flung his promises to the winds, and concluded a treaty with Charles V., for the expulsion of the French from Italy. Henry VIII., who had recently made the warmest professions of attachment to Francis, in the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," was induced by his favourite, Wolsey, to join the emperor; Charles had won the support of the insatiable cardinal, by promising to favour his election to the papacy on the next vacancy. The French army in Italy was routed by the imperialists, and the Duchy of Milan was wrested from the grasp of Francis. While Christendom was thus distracted by the inconsiderate ambition of Leo X., Suleiman the Magnificent raised the Turkish empire to a formidable height of greatness; Belgrade submitted to his arms, and the Knights of St. John, after a gallant resistance, were driven from the Island of Rhodes. Before he could discover the dangerous tendency of his policy, Leo fell a victim to a sudden attack of disease. He was succeeded by Adrian VI., who had been long in the emperor's service, and was therefore disposed to favour his policy (A. D. 1522). But the new pontiff was deficient in energy and foresight; his weakness proved as injurious to the papacy, as the ambition of his predecessor.

The conquest of Rhodes and the formidable power of Suleiman excited great alarm; Adrian made some feeble efforts to restore the peace of Europe, but Charles had different objects in view; however, he so far yielded to public opinion, as to give the island of Malta to the Knights of St. John, on condition of their continuing to maintain the war against the infidels. The Italian states, renouncing their old spirit of independence, united with the emperor against Francis I.; and even Venice, now fast falling from its high estate, renounced its alliance with France. The pope joined in the new confederation, which received as its general the Constable of Bourbon, whom the intrigues of the Parisian court compelled to become a traitor; the war, instead of protecting Christendom on the frontiers of Hungary, exercised its ravages in Italy, Bavaria, and France. Persecution assailed the professors of the reformed doctrines, but did not check their progress; Luther, in his retirement, translated the Bible into the German language, and by its publication shook the fabric of popery to its very foundation. Nuremberg, Francfort, Hamburgh, and several other free cities of Germany openly embraced the reformed doctrines, and by the authority of their magistrates abolished the mass, with all its superstitious observances. The Elector of Brandenburgh, the Dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, and the Prince of Anhalt, became avowed patrons of Luther's opinions, and countenanced the preaching of them among their subjects.

Adrian remonstrated with the diet for tolerating the progress of heresy; in reply to his letter, the German princes sent him a list of one hundred grievances, which they attributed to the dominion of the Holy See. They concluded their memorable declaration by protesting, that if they were not speedily delivered from these intolerable burdens, they had determined to endure them no longer, and would employ the power and authority with which God had intrusted them, in order to procure relief. The pope was enraged by the obstinacy of the Lutherans, whom he had tried to conciliate by a frank acknowledgement of the abuses that had crept into the Church; the cardinals and clergy of Rome were still more exasperated by Adrian's concessions to the Germans; when he was attacked by a painful disease, they openly prayed for his death, and when that event took place, they adorned the gate of his chief physician's house with garlands, adding this inscription, To THE DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY.

The intrigues of the conclave protracted the next election for the unusual space of fifty days; at length the Cardinal de Médicis was chosen; his talents, his great experience, his ascendency over the Florentine republic, and his enormous wealth, inspired the friends of the papacy with great hopes of his success in contending with the difficulties of the crisis. One of his earliest measures was to send Cardinal Campeggio into Germany as his nuncio to the diet of Nuremberg; but all the arts of Italian

diplomacy failed to shake the firmness of the German princes; they insisted on the convocation of a free general council, and the redress of the hundred grievances; when their demands were eluded, they refused to pass any censure on the opinions and efforts of Luther. The emperor added his recommendation to the exhortations of the pontiff, but the war with France engaged his attention more than the state of the Church; his armies invaded the dominions of Francis on the side of Provence, and laid siege to Marseilles; but the imperialists, not being supported as they expected, were forced to retire with loss and disgrace. Elated by success, Francis I., in opposition to the advice of his wisest generals and statesmen, pursued the imperialists into Italy, and laid siege to Pavia; the pope was so alarmed by the progress of the French, that he concluded a treaty with the young monarch, in which the republic of Florence was included (A. D. 1524). Francis, having thus deprived the emperor of his most powerful allies, unwisely weakened his forces, by sending a large detachment to invade the kingdom of Naples; the imperial generals concentrated their forces, attacked the French army at Pavia, routed it completely, and took the king himself prisoner. Such an unexpected disaster compelled Clement to change his policy; he rejected the demand of the Venetians to form a league against Charles V., who menaced the independence of Italy; he tried to negotiate with that prince, but failing to

obtain favourable conditions, he attempted to shake the fidelity of the Marquis of Pescara, the imperial general, by the offer of the kingdom of Naples, which the Holy See had already more than once bestowed for its aggrandisement, or its defence. Pescara disclosed the plot to his master, and, in obedience to the imperial orders, seized the duchy of Milan. This event put an end for ever to the independence of northern Italy; but it was not the only ungenerous use of victory which sullied the success of the emperor. He imposed terms on the captive Francis, which amounted to a relinquishment of his throne; and he did not grant him liberty until death threatened to deprive him of the advantages to be derived from detaining such a prisoner. But the unbounded power of the emperor excited the jealousy of the European states (A. D. 1526). Wolsey, irritated by the loss of the papacy which he had been led to expect, induced Henry VIII. to conclude a treaty with the French regency. Francis I. refused to execute the articles extorted from him at Madrid; and his breach of faith was supported by the pope, the Venetians, the Duke of Milan, the Swiss, and the Florentines. A league, misnamed holy, was formed against the emperor at Cognac; and Henry VIII. was honoured by the title of its protector.

The holy alliance was not the only danger that menaced Charles V.; a fierce revolt of the peasants and anabaptists in Suabia excited general alarm

throughout Germany; several provinces in Spain and Flanders threatened revolt in defence of their invaded franchises, while the Turks, under Suleiman, struck Christendom with terror by their victory at Mohacz. Louis II., King of Hungary and Bavaria, with only thirty thousand men, ventured to encounter the sultan, whose forces were tenfold that amount, and still more imprudently he gave the command of these troops to a Franciscan monk. The unfortunate king, the flower of the Hungarian nobility, and twenty thousand men, were thus sacrificed to folly and superstition. As Louis was the last male of the royal family of the Jagellons, the crowns of both kingdoms devolved to the house of Austria; but Charles V. gained little from this elevation of his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, as both kingdoms could only be retained by constant vigilance and exertion.

The holy league had been formed for the defence of Francis I., but that monarch was far from wishing it complete success; he dreaded that it might terminate in establishing the independence of Italy, and he therefore looked calmly on while the confederates and the imperialists mutually exhausted each other. The Constable of Bourbon, whose treason had procured him the command of the imperial army, unable to provide pay and sustenance for his forces, resolved to gratify them by the plunder of some large city, and, after some hesitation, he directed his march towards Rome. The Eternal

City was stormed; the imperialists, maddened by the loss of their leader, who fell in the assault, showed no mercy to the vanquished; nor did these outrages cease when the first fury of the storm was over; the imperialists kept possession of Rome several months, and during all that time the insolence and brutality of the soldiers hardly abated. Though taken several times by the barbarians, who overran the empire in the sixth and seventh centuries, Rome was never treated with so much cruelty by the barbarous and heathen Huns, Vandals, and Goths, as now by the bigoted subjects of a Catholic monarch.

The Prince of Orange succeeded to the command of the imperialists on the death of the Constable of Bourbon, and immediately invested the castle of St. Angelo, where the pope had sought shelter. Deprived of every resource, and reduced to the greatest extremities of famine, Clement surrendered to the besiegers, and consented to remain a prisoner until the conditions of his ransom were performed. Charles V. was forced to dissemble the joy which this event inspired, for the outrage offered to the pope filled all Catholic Europe with indignation; with detestable hypocrisy the emperor put himself and court into mourning, suspended the rejoicings which had been ordered for the birth of his son Philip, and appointed prayers and processions throughout all Spain for the recovery of the pope's

liberty, which, by an order to his generals, he could have immediately granted him.

Henry VIII. combined with Francis I. to force the emperor to accept a reasonable ransom for the son of the latter, whom he held as an hostage, and to procure the deliverance of the pope. Henry was weary of his queen, the aunt of the emperor; he had always felt some scruples of conscience for having married his brother's widow, and these were considerably quickened by his passion for Anne Boleyn, one of the queen's maids of honour. The English monarch applied to the pontiff for a divorce; Clement was unwilling to thwart his ally, but he dreaded the displeasure of the emperor, especially as he lay at his mercy; in this difficulty, he secretly advised the king to marry the object of his affections without delay, and trust to the chance of getting absolution at some future period. Henry doubted the sincerity of such counsel; he was unwilling to place himself so completely in the pope's power; at the same time he and the French king agreed to receive no bulls while the pope should remain a prisoner: the ecclesiastical administration of England was intrusted to Wolsey; the government of the Gallican Church devolved upon the provincial councils of its own clergy. Unfortunately for both countries, neither the French nor English monarch comprehended the advantages which would result to themselves and their subjects from persevering

in the maintenance of the ecclesiastical independence forced upon them by the peculiar circumstances of the Holy See.

The fortune of Charles V. triumphed over this league, but it had not the same success in Germany, where, to use the quaint expression of an Italian cardinal, "it was attacked at once by the Gospel and the Koran." Luther's doctrines alienated the minds of men from the constituted creeds; the arms of the Mohammedans menaced the provinces of the empire (A. D. 1529). The Diet of Spires issued a cautious edict, prohibiting further innovations in religion, but it was answered by a *protestation* from the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the Dukes of Lunenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Prince of Anhalt, and the deputies of fourteen imperial or free cities, condemning the decree as unjust and impious. From this circumstance the advocates of the Reformation were called PROTESTANTS,—a name since applied indiscriminately to all sects which have separated themselves from the Church of Rome. The Archduke Ferdinand, sadly in need of aid against the Turks, began to advocate toleration, but his sincerity was justly suspected; Suleiman laid siege to Vienna, and though forced to abandon Austria, he seized the greater part of Hungary, which he gave to John Zapolya, and crowned him at Buda with his own hand.

In the mean time the pope effected a reconciliation with the emperor; he accepted the sovereignty

of Florence for his grand-nephew, Alexander de Médicis, as a compensation for the sack of Rome, and prevailed upon Charles to oppose the reformers, and withdraw his demand of a general council. At the Diet of Augsburg the Protestants presented their "Confession of Faith;" it was examined and condemned by some Romish divines; neither the Protestant theologians, nor the princes by whom they were protected, could be induced to abandon their creed; and Charles, yielding to the suggestions of the papal nuncio, resolved to take vigorous measures for asserting the doctrines and authority of the Established Church (A. D. 1530). A decree was issued by the diet, condemning most of the peculiar tenets held by the Protestants, forbidding any person to protect or tolerate such as taught them, enjoining a strict observance of the established rites, and prohibiting further innovation, under severe penalties. For this support of the papacy, Charles received the imperial crown from Clement, at Bologna; and the ruin of Italian liberty was consummated. But the German princes did not imitate the submission of the Lombard states; animated by Luther, the heads of the Protestants entered into a confederacy for mutual defence at Smalkalde, and resolved to seek support from the kings of France and England. An event not connected with religion furnished them with a plausible pretext for strengthening themselves by foreign alliances. Charles resolved to continue the imperial crown in

his family, by procuring his brother Ferdinand to be elected King of the Romans (A. D. 1531). The five Catholic electors yielded to the emperor's will, but the two who had embraced the Protestant faith protested against such a violation of the Germanic constitution as established by the Golden Bull, and sent ambassadors to France and England.

The wars of religion had already commenced in Switzerland, where the partisans of Zuinglius were attacked by the adherents of Rome. But in England the most severe blow had been given to the papal authority; Henry VIII., irritated by Clement's opposition to his divorce, proclaimed himself head of the English Church, and abolished the authority of the pope throughout his dominion.

The reforms in Germany and England, though nearly simultaneous, were very different in their origin and progress. Long before the preaching of Luther, discontent with the papal usurpations had been increasing in Britain; and parliament on many occasions showed some anxiety to restrain the abuses of ecclesiastical power. It is indeed probable that the independence of the Anglican Church would have ensued from the impulse given to the public mind by Wickliffe and his followers, had not the Wars of the Roses involved the country in the sanguinary controversies of a disputed succession. Henry VIII. was no more the author of the English Reformation, than Constantine was the author of Christianity; he only yielded to the popular impulse, when he rejected

an authority which had long since lost its hold on the public mind, and instead of leading his people in opposition to the Romish See, he but followed the direction of the public mind; and in the career of reform, so far was he from being in the van, that he always remained far, very far, behind. With the caprice peculiar to his character, he continued to defend the doctrines of the Church of Rome as fiercely as he attacked its jurisdiction. He alternately persecuted the Protestants for rejecting the former, and the Catholics for acknowledging the latter. But his subjects, once permitted to enter on the career of improvement which they had long and earnestly desired, did not stop short at the point prescribed by their despotic sovereign. They seized an early opportunity in the following reign of separating totally from the Church of Rome in articles of doctrine, as well as in matters of discipline and jurisdiction. Clement VII. accelerated the progress of the Reformation, by giving his niece Catherine de Médicis in marriage to the Duke of Orléans, for he was thus politically united to the French king, the ally of the Protestant princes. Charles V., terrified by the coalition of France and England, at a time when the Turkish power was formidable, issued an edict of toleration; and the rashness of Clement, who fulminated a bull against the English king and parliament, secured to Europe the blessings of religious freedom.

Paul III. was elected successor to Clement on

the very day that the cardinals entered the conclave. His promotion excited great joy among the people of Rome, for nearly a century had elapsed since the crown of St. Peter was worn by one of their fellow-citizens. When Paul commenced his reign, the emperor, forgetting his concessions at Ratisbon, had seized the duchy of Wurtemberg, but was forced to resign his prey by the Landgrave of Hesse, and the confederates of Smalkalde. Thus the war was about to commence, and the Romish Church had reason to dread the issue. It is true that Francis I. comprised in an equal proscription, reformed doctrines and the art of printing, attempting to destroy the press as a powerful agent of improvements which he could not comprehend, and witnessing in person the tortures of Lutherans, whom he delivered to the tender mercies of the Inquisition. It is true that James V. displayed similar bigotry in Scotland, and watered the rising "kirk" with the blood of martyrs. It is true that Ignacius Loyola, after having displayed his zeal for proselytism in all the prisons of Spain, founded the order of the Jesuits, destined for a time to be the most powerful support of the Romish Church, the most celebrated confederacy that ever united religion with politics, and the most fatal institution ever organized to check the progress of humanity. But it is no less true that Francis I. negotiated with the league of Smalkalde, invited Melanchthon to his court, accepted the dedication of Calvin's Institutes, took possession of Savoy, and

apologized to the Protestants for persecutions of which his ambassadors made a boast at Rome. Suleiman also controlled the only power which could have crushed Protestantism; on land he menaced the hereditary provinces of Austria, at sea his admiral Khair-ed-dén, better known by his nick-name, Barbarossa, proved a formidable rival to Doria, the commander of the imperial fleet.

Henry VIII. sent Cardinal Fisher and the virtuous Sir Thomas More to the scaffold, for maintaining the doctrine of the pope's supremacy; and the Romish religion was formally abolished by the republic of Geneva. The anabaptists of Munster raised a formidable revolt, choosing a fanatic, named John of Leyden, for their king, and making immorality a leading article of their creed; these fanatics were overthrown, but the state of Germany continued to fill the emperor's mind with alarm, and to make him hesitate before taking any decisive measures.

An expedition to northern Africa, in which the emperor took the city of Tunis, and obtained the liberation of twenty thousand Christian slaves, raised Charles to such a height of glory, that he believed it would be in his power to arrange the troubles of Europe; and he promised Paul III. that he would make a vigorous effort to stop the progress of new opinions. He was irritated by the conquest of Piedmont, which Francis I. had just achieved, and in the presence of the cardinals he uttered a virulent invective, unworthy of the imperial majesty, against a

prince who secretly encouraged his enemies, and those of religion. He demanded the convocation of a general council, to show the Protestants that he was not unwilling to make some efforts for their gratification, to keep the pope in awe, to satisfy the Catholics, and to throw the blame of approaching hostilities on the turbulent disposition of the French king, whom he accused of having formed a treaty for the partition of Germany with the Sultan of the Turks (A. D. 1536). He invaded Provence, but, after spending two inglorious months in the country, he was compelled to retreat.

In the mean time, Paul III. declared his design of convoking a general council at Mantua, but found that the proposal satisfied nobody. The Protestants declared that they would not recognize the decrees emanating from such an assembly, and a legate was vainly sent to Smalkalde (A. D. 1537). He brought back from the princes a positive refusal of submission, and an assurance of their having entered into a strict alliance with Francis I.

Paul was justly alarmed at the prospects of the Church; the principles of the Reformation and national independence had been simultaneously established in Sweden, by the heroic Gustavus Vasa, and now Christian III., King of Denmark, received his crown from the hands of a Protestant minister. In England, Henry VIII., rejecting the council of Mantua, pursued his own course of change, though he had sent his innocent Queen Anne, the patroness

of reform, to the scaffold, through lassitude rather than jealousy; but he suppressed the monasteries and the preceptories of the knights of Malta, and purchased the fidelity of his nobles by giving them grants of the forfeited lands belonging to the convents, and thus identifying their private interests with the opposition to the papacy.

Henry VIII., supported by his aristocracy and the bishops of his own creation, disregarded the papal menaces; but when a truce for ten years was made between Francis I. and Charles V., he began to feel some alarm, and he made proposals of alliance to the confederates of Smalkalde. The Protestant princes doubted his sincerity, and demanded, as a proof of his zeal for the reformation, that he should adopt the Confession of Augsburgh. This proposal was peremptorily rejected by the English monarch; he ordered the prayers to be read in English throughout his dominions, but he published "the Bloody Statute," in which the old and new opinions were alike proscribed. The six articles, which composed this law, were neither the Romish creed nor the religion of Luther; they were the opinions of a capricious despot, carelessly adopted, but cruelly enforced.

The princes of Smalkalde were not discouraged by the backwardness of Henry; they felt that the current of the public mind ran in their favour, and they obtained from the emperor a promise of liberty of conscience (A. D. 1540). But they were well aware

that they owed this favour to the embarassments which resulted from the revolt of Ghent, and they continued their secret intrigues with England and France.

Henry VIII. was, however, an unsafe ally, and Francis I. was equally unworthy of confidence. Abandoning himself to the intrigues of the court, and the Constable Montmorency, he displayed the same caprice, and the same cruelty, as the sovereign of England. Though he never relaxed in his hostility to Charles V., he did not take advantage of the emperor's failure at Algiers, nor of the archduke's defeat by the Turks, to assert his claims on Italy, but waited until the emperor had recruited his army, and his finances, before he published his declaration of war. He counted on the support of the Protestant princes, while he prohibited the publication of the works of Calvin, and persecuted the Lutherans in his dominions. He quarrelled with Henry VIII. and the confederates of Smalkalde, but at the same time he struck a mortal blow against ecclesiastical tribunals, by limiting their competency to matters purely clerical. In short, this monarch's conduct, in its whimsical inconsistency, may almost alone be taken as a representation of the manners of an epoch, in which antiquated usages and innovation alternately prevailed.

The pope and Charles V. expected to profit by the blunders of Francis, and isolate the enemies of the Holy See, so that they might be crushed when

deprived of their allies. The pope relied on the effect of time to produce discord, and his summoning the Council of Trent was a mere mockery and deception (A. D. 1542). But the cause of the Reformation continued to advance; cities and provinces were won from their allegiance to the Romish See, and what was scarcely less important, Bernardin Okini, the general of the Capuchins, celebrated for the austerity of his manners, and the sanctity of his life, embraced the opinions of Luther, and renouncing celibacy, took to himself a wife. The war of opinions and recantations preceded the war of battles.

Chapter XIX.

WARS OF THE REFORMATION.

From A. D. 1543 to A. D. 1572.

So rapid had been the progress of the Reformation, and so general the spirit of discontent excited by the abuses of the court of Rome, that the pope and the emperor hesitated before they ventured to declare open war against the Protestant leaders. Political and religious despotism were equally threatened by the movement; princes comprehended the advantages to be derived from this enfranchisement of thought earlier than their subjects: they did not know how onerous was the yoke of the papacy, until they had tasted the pleasures of freedom; but when this once happened, it was impossible to bring them back to their former bondage. Charles V. was bent on establishing despotic authority in the empire; the pope was his natural ally, for mental thraldom is necessary to political degradation,—both hoped to revive the exploded maxims of a former age, but they dared not hazard an appeal to arms until they had tried the arts of policy and persuasion. The Protestants at first assumed a noble attitude: they braved the thunders of the Holy See, confuted the arguments of its doctors, and defied the soldiers of its protector. Anathemas neither terrified the

opponents of the papacy, nor gave courage to its supporters; public disputations ended in the confusion of the legates, who had the imprudence to permit or sustain them, and diplomacy profited by the troubles of Germany, the turbulence of Francis I., and the passions of Henry VIII., to extend the Reformation, without, however, appreciating its importance, or its final tendency. The struggle commenced, between public opinion on the one side and brute force on the other; civilization, for the last time, entered into deadly conflict with the ignorance and barbarism of the middle ages.

This new era of modern society commenced with all the conditions which could render its origin glorious. It had to overcome the opposition of able prelates, whose activity was incessant, and whose vigilance was never relaxed; to surmount the obstacles of bigotry and fanaticism, ever merciless when assailed; to put to flight the armies of the most powerful monarch who had worn the imperial crown during several centuries; to defend itself against the persecutions or caprices of those princes whom the new interests had not gained, or had only united to the reformed cause for a moment;—finally, it had to march with courage and constancy through the midst of the perils with which ignorance, regret, jealousy, baffled hope, and disappointed ambition, impeded its course. But the Reformation had the human mind for its ally and its guide: the certainty of its success was ensured by the progress of intel-

ligence. The papacy was at this period the colossal enemy of civilization; it is true that the feet of the colossus were of clay, but it required no ordinary wisdom to discover its weakness, and no ordinary courage to attempt its overthrow.

When Paul III. summoned the Council of Trent, he felt that he could not count with certainty on success; the spirit of improvement had already seized many princes of the Church. Already the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order and the Archbishop-elector of Cologne had embraced the Protestant faith. The German princes objected to Trent, on the same grounds that they had refused the city of Mantua: in both cases they saw that the assemblies would be under the direct influence of the pope, and, consequently, that there would be no security for freedom of voting or discussion. This claim, in itself, was a heresy in the eyes of the pope, and he represented it to the emperor as an act of rebellion. But political circumstances sometimes separated this prince from Rome; and, in order to gain the support of the Protestant princes against Francis I., he had recently proclaimed liberty of conscience, at the Diet of Spires, until the meeting of a general council. Paul III. thought that the interests of the Church ought to be superior to all political considerations; he complained bitterly of this decision, of the refusal to admit his legate into the diet, of the emperor's alliance with Henry VIII., who had so often been excommunicated, and

of his war against Francis I., whose virulent persecution of heretics proved him a faithful son of the Church. The pope showed an earnest anxiety for peace, but his exertions were partly owing to resentment, for the emperor had refused the Duchy of Milan to his grandson.

The treaty of Crespi restored peace between Charles and Francis; the emperor suppressed his animosity, lest the French king might succeed in forming an alliance with the pope, which might lead to his acquiring supremacy in Italy, and he was eager to take some steps to check the progress of innovation in Germany. No sooner was the treaty signed, than Charles laid aside the mask of liberality which he had hitherto worn, and summoned the Protestant princes to appear at the Council of Trent (A. D. 1545). They indignantly refused, though aware that they had to contend against the whole force of the empire, for Francis I., ever in extremes, had negotiated a truce between Charles and the Sultan.

The war of religion which now began, was also a war of civilization. To the manifesto of Charles V. the Protestants replied by another manifesto, in which their principles were stated with great vigour and clearness; their doctors seized the pen, when their warriors drew the sword. The printing press, now becoming an active instrument of diffusing information, spread their works over Germany, rendered their attacks more fierce, and excited, even in

the lowest classes, a spirit of research and inquiry. The struggle was general, and its event could not have been doubtful, had union reigned in the Protestant confederacy. But the members of the league, abandoned by Francis I. and Henry VIII., could not agree in the choice of a leader; the curse of divided councils embarrassed all their operations; they lost the most favourable opportunities of victory, and they separated like dastards when Saxony was subdued by the imperialists. This error, if it can be called by so mild a name, was the more grievous, as the pope and the emperor were secretly opposed to each other; no sooner did the success of Charles render his power formidable, than Paul recalled his troops, and refused to lend any further aid to a war undertaken at his own suggestion. The conspiracy of Fresco to overturn the government of Genoa, which all but succeeded, was supposed to have been secretly instigated by the pope, and Charles, alarmed for the safety of his power in Italy, was forced to suspend his operations in Germany. Indeed, his weakness in the peninsula was such, that even the feeble Neapolitans compelled him to retract his edict for establishing the Inquisition.

The death of Francis I. made an important change in the aspect of affairs (A. D. 1547). Henry II., who succeded to the throne of France, inherited the fanaticism, but not the abilities of his father. He sacrificed the Huguenots, as the French Protestants began to be called, to the cupidity of his

favourites, the Duchess of Valentinois and the Duke of Guise, granting to them the forfeited estates of all who should be convicted of heresy. An active persecution of heresy commenced, which would have provoked a civil war, if the Protestants of France, like those of Germany, could have found princes for their leaders. Charles hasted to improve the opportunity afforded him by the death of his rival; he led an army into Saxony, and encountered the Elector at Mühlberg. The result of the engagement seemed to threaten ruin to the Protestant cause; the Elector was defeated and taken prisoner; the papal party throughout Europe, exhibited extravagant joy; Sandoval, bishop of Pampeluna, who was present in the field, declared to the world, that God had worked a miracle in favour of the Church, by causing the sun to stand still while the imperialists were completing their victory over the enemies of the faith. But the victory at Mühlberg, like that of Pavia, was more injurious to Charles than a defeat; his ungenerous conduct to his prisoners, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, provoked general indignation throughout the empire; while the King of France felt that the interests of his kingdom required him to support the cause of the Lutherans; and the pope, dreading the assembling of a general council, secretly thwarted the emperor's negotiations. The disquietude of Paul was in some degree removed by the emperor's imprudence in preparing a system to serve as a rule of faith in

Germany. It was called the Interim, because it was only to continue in force until the assembling of a free general council; and it so far yielded to the Protestants as to tolerate the marriage of priests, and the administration of the sacramental cup to the laity. But this system of compromise did not allay the discontent of the Lutherans, while it enraged the bigoted adherents of the papacy. Both parties assailed the emperor; and the felicitations addressed to him by the Diet of Augsburgh, were the flatteries of cowardice and hypocrisy. Paul III., whose great anxiety was the elevation of his family, an object to which he more than once sacrificed the interests of the Holy See, rejoiced to see the emperor regarded at once as a persecutor and a heretic; he made no effort to relieve him from embarrassment, but sought how he might turn it to his own private advantage.

If Charles V. had hoped to gain the Protestants by the Interim, his conduct soon showed that policy rather than conviction had extorted the concessions it contained (A. D. 1549). It was in vain that he menaced those who opposed this formulary with the imperial indignation. The Venetians condemned it publicly, and the Protestants, gradually resuming their courage, remembered that force gave them the right of repudiating a system which force alone had imposed. Though Henry II. was a bitter persecutor in his own dominions, he openly encouraged the Germans in their opposition. England

was still more favourably disposed towards them, for on the accession of Edward VI., the parliament sanctioned the principles of the Reformation in their full strength, and conferred on the king the right of appointing bishops, and regulating the liturgy. The death of Pope Paul and the elevation of Julius III., was also an event favourable to the Protestant cause, for the luxurious profligacy of Julius was equally notorious and disgraceful.

Julius, soon after his elevation, gratified the emperor by publishing an edict to re-assemble the Council of Trent, which his predecessor had dissolved; and Charles in return annulled the Interim, by issuing a severe edict against all opponents of the established faith. This edict had the fate of all the commandments that tyranny issues against conscience; it was disobeyed, and the people of the Netherlands especially, among whom it was attempted to establish the Inquisition, threatened to take up arms for the defence of foreign merchants, who, without such protection, would not trade in the cities subject to that odious tribunal. The edict was modified, but the seeds of liberty were planted by the first resistance to despotism, and Philip II. reaped the harvest of his father's unwise policy.

But it was not in the Netherlands alone, that the bigoted zeal of Charles had provoked discontent. The Lutheran princes, whose preparations were complete, only waited for an opportunity; they refused to send their theologians to the Council of

Trent, unless pledges were given for their safety. Henry II., with whom they were in secret alliance, sent the Abbot of Bellazone to protest, in his name, against an assembly called at such an improper juncture, when a war, wantonly kindled by the pope, made it impossible for the delegates from the Gallican Church to resort to Trent in safety, or to debate concerning articles of faith and discipline, with the requisite tranquillity. This measure gave a deep wound to the credit of the council, at the very commencement of its deliberations; its authority was disclaimed by the second prince in Christendom, and its pretensions to a complete representation of the Universal Church wholly destroyed. Maurice of Saxony, long the chief support of the emperor, had secretly resolved to revive the Protestant cause, and, for this purpose, solicited support from England, while he lulled the suspicions of the emperor by repeated professions of allegiance.

Charles was taken unawares. The manifesto of the Protestant princes appeared simultaneously with that of their ally, Henry II., who, leaving the government of his states to his mistress and his favourites, gave the singular example of a king, whose declaration of war was ornamented by the representation of a cap between two daggers, with the motto "Liberty." The manifesto of the German princes reproached Charles with despotism, perfidy, and intolerance; Henry II. accused him of instigating a revolt in France, of refusing homage for the duchy of Lorraine,

and of setting a price on the head of German officers in the French pay. It was an age of singular contrasts.

The King of France, a sanguinary persecutor of the Huguenots in his own dominions, was in strict alliance with the Protestants of Germany; while the Turkish sultan proclaimed himself the protector of the Romish Church in Hungary, menacing the queen of that country with his arms if she did not revoke the edict of toleration which she had issued. The war became general; Maurice refused the propositions of Ferdinand, and very narrowly missed making Charles a prisoner at Inspruck. The emperor fled at midnight during a violent tempest, and with difficulty found shelter in a remote part of Carinthia. This was not the only result of the activity of Maurice; the prelates assembled at Trent hastily terminated their sittings, and ten years elapsed before the proceedings of the council were resumed. Charles was forced to submit to the terms of the confederacy, the peace of religion was signed at Passau, and a mutual toleration was solemnly guaranteed by both parties.

The necessity of repulsing the attacks of the French in Germany, and the Turks in Hungary; the certainty that his son Philip would not be elected King of the Romans, and symptoms of discontent in Spain, greatly lessened the zeal of Charles V. against the Protestants (A. D. 1553). He ceased to be untractable on the subject of religion, when his zeal

was no longer profitable. Henry II. was forced to return to France, where everything seemed to threaten sanguinary convulsions. The intrigues of the king's mistress; the plans of vengeance formed by Catherine de Médicis; the ambition of the Guises; the discontent of the princes of the blood; the dissatisfaction of the people; the progress of the Reformation; and, finally, the cruelties of an imbecile sovereign;—all presaged a fierce contest in France, of which religion, as in Germany, should be the pretext; but the real motive, the pretensions of the princes of Lorraine, and the opposition of the nation to their fanaticism and ambition.

The death of Edward VI., and the accession of his sister Mary, revived the hopes of the papal party throughout Europe; the daughter of Catherine of Arragon, she attributed to the Protestants the injuries of her mother, and the sufferings of her own childhood; personal animosity was added to gloomy bigotry; she condemned the chief of the Protestant prelates to be burned at the stake, and she compelled her servile parliament to beg absolution from the pope's nuncio. Her marriage to the superstitious Philip, the eldest son of Charles V., whose character for fanaticism and despotism was already known, produced great joy in Rome, and general alarm in Germany.

The fanaticism of Charles V. increased with his age, but circumstances compelled him to disguise it as much as possible. He permitted his son Philip

to accept the kingdom of Naples as a boon from the Holy See, and it was with his consent that the Jesuits became the virtual rulers of Spain. This order, daily becoming more formidable, attempted to form an establishment in France, but it was opposed by the parliament, by the Bishop of Paris, and by the principal theologians of the Sorbonne, who declared that "the society seemed instituted rather for the ruin than the edification of the faithful."

The Jesuits, indeed, owe all their success to the Reformation; formed for resisting the progress of change, the history of the order will be searched in vain for any virtuous or splendid exploit. Its resistance was obscure, its means vile, and its victories contemptible. Whenever the society mingled in great political movements, assassinations exhibited the only proofs of its boldness, and it had not the poor apology of success for its crimes; it has always been more fatal to its friends than its enemies. When the progress of civilization revealed the secrets of this dark institution, the Jesuits sunk at once into the rank of the inferior agents employed by despotic monarchs or bigoted priests, against men who had sufficient knowledge to discover the rights of conscience, and sufficient energy to proclaim them.

From the hour that the treaty of Passau had wrested from Charles V. the fruits of his whole political career, he felt that his crowns were heavy on his brows. The principles of mutual toleration were formally sanctioned by the Diet of Augsburgh;

Paul IV., who may be esteemed the successor of Julius,—for the twenty days' reign of Marcellus produced no political event,—was so offended, that he became the avowed enemy of the house of Austria, and entered into close alliance with the King of France. A storm was approaching, when Charles, to the great surprise of the world, resolved to abdicate his dominions.

Though a prince of moderate abilities, Charles V. had reigned with more glory than most European sovereigns. A King of France and a pope had been his captives; his dominions were more extensive than those of Alexander, or of Rome. By his generals, or his ministers, he had gained all the objects which usually excite ambition; he had gained even the distinction of being regarded as the champion of orthodoxy, in an age when toleration was a crime. But the triumph of civilization over the system of the Middle Ages, of which he was at once the last support, and the last representative, was certain and complete, and he could not resist the mortification of finding himself vanquished; the peace of Passau was to him "the hand-writing on the wall;" it announced that his policy was past, and his destiny accomplished. The feebleness of old age overtook him at fifty-six; harassed by vain repinings, overwhelmed by infirmities, he felt that he could no longer appear a hero, and he desired to seem a sage. He became a hermit, removed all his diadems from his head, and sunk into voluntary obscurity. He

was, however, sure to be regretted, for he bequeathed to the world his successor, the sanguinary Philip, just as Augustus adopted Tiberius.

The new Emperor Ferdinand found himself under the necessity of conciliating the Protestant electors, because Charles had not quite resigned all hope of procuring the imperial crown for Philip, and the pope had revived his antiquated claims to dispose of the empire. Paul IV. seized this pretext for venting his ancient hostility against the family of Charles V.; through the princes of Lorraine he negotiated an alliance with the King of France, and succeeded in kindling the last war which the policy of the popes produced in Europe (A. D. 1557).

The truce between the monarchs of France and Spain, which had been negotiated by the Queen of England, did not restrain the pontiff's eagerness for discord; his legate in France was seconded in his efforts to excite a renewal of hostilities by the Guises, by Catherine de Médicis, and even by the king's mistress, the Duchess of Valentinois, whose support his holiness gained by a weighty bribe. Nothing checked the ardour of the aged pontiff; to the great astonishment of the world, he took Lutheran regiments into his pay, and gave the example of intolerance overcome by ambition.

But the battle of St. Quentin, which almost placed France at the mercy of the Spaniards, having compelled Henry to recal the Duke of Guise and his army from France, Paul was forced to supplicate

peace. Luckily for him, the superstitious Philip felt his conscience wounded by being compelled to wage war on the pope, and the Spanish general, the Duke of Alva, was equally grieved to find himself opposed to the Church. Alva went to Rome, and asked pardon on his knees for having violated the Patrimony of St. Peter; the solemn farce of granting absolution to the victorious general and his master was gravely performed, for the papacy, though vanquished, clung to the privileges of its pride.

This peace turned the enmity of Paul IV. against the King of France; he accused Henry II. of culpable indulgence to the Huguenots, because he had allowed a congregation to escape which had been surprised by the Parisian populace; but Henry did not merit the imputation of any such virtue as toleration; he threatened his parliament for showing signs of a lenient disposition, and extorted from that body the condemnation of five persons accused of heresy. There was no need of any exhortation to rouse the ferocious bigotry of Henry; were such wanting, he would have found it in the suggestions of the princes of Lorraine, at whose instigation he established the Inquisition, and placed the Cardinals of Lorraine, Bourbon, and Chatillon at its head.

But the Protestants, notwithstanding, acquired strength in France; they formed secret unions, opened a correspondence with foreign powers, and made the state of public affairs a pretext for these hazardous precautions. They knew the unpopularity

of the Guises, even with the most orthodox, and under the veil of enmity against this hated family, they concealed their projects for reform and their zeal of proselytism (A. D. 1558). The accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England delivered them from powerful enemies, and the pope's attention was absorbed by his quarrels with this princess and the Emperor Ferdinand. The pontiff declared that the daughter of Anna Boleyn could not legally become a sovereign until the bulls of Clement VII. and Paul III. were revoked; that the kingdom of England was an ecclesiastical fief, and that the succession to its throne depended on the judgment of the pope. Policy formed a far different estimate of Elizabeth's claims. The very prince who, by his zeal for the Inquisition, his massacre of the Jews in Arragon, the Mussulmans in Granada, and the Protestants in Flanders, and his continual zeal in religious wars, passed for the most devoted son of the Church, became a suitor for the hand of this illustrious queen. But Elizabeth remembered the fate of Catherine of Arragon, she dreaded some future scruples in the widower of her sister; but she dissembled her purpose, that she might not lose her chief ally against France and Scotland; she avoided giving any decisive answer. The pope's interference, however, was the first cause of the life of misery led by Mary Queen of Scots; she had been married to the dauphin of France; and, at the instigation of her father-in-law, she assumed the style and arms of

England, as rightful heir to its crown. She thus provoked a powerful enemy, at whose mercy she was soon left by the premature death of her husband. Paul IV. displayed similar haughtiness in his behaviour to the Emperor Ferdinand, when that prince was formally recognized by the Diet of Francfort. "Charles V.," said the pontiff, "had no right to abdicate in favour of his brother, without the express sanction of the Holy See; and the proceedings of the Diet were void, since the assembly was principally composed of heretical princes." These were the maxims of Gregory VII.; but the world had changed too much to endure them; such despotism could no longer exist except in history. It was in vain that Paul celebrated the funeral of Charles V., as if that prince had never ceased to be emperor, paying no regard to the charge of heresy brought against that abdicated monarch by his own son; Ferdinand answered the papal claims and menaces, by confirming the treaty of Passau, and the several decrees of successive diets for securing liberty of conscience. Thus the blind obstinacy of the aged pontiff secured valuable advantages for the cause of the Reformation.

The Protestant religion penetrated everywhere; it was preached in Poland, and even in Italy: Rome itself contained persons who secretly hoped that the most glaring abuses of the Church would be removed. But the British islands were the theatre of its greatest triumphs; the English parliament

sanctioned the reformed liturgy, proclaimed Elizabeth Head of the Church, and enacted the oath of supremacy as a qualification for office. The queen-regent in Scotland made a vain struggle against John Knox and his followers, whose violence imparted an unnecessary degree of harshness to the progress of the Reformation in the northern part of Britain. In France, the Protestants won over the Cardinal of Chatillon himself; their progress filled the Guises with alarm, and, in order to restrain it, they hastily put an end to the Spanish war by the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis. The pope was far from being pleased with this pacification; it announced the concert of France and Spain for the convocation of a general council, an assembly always troublesome to the tranquillity of the sovereign pontiffs.

The imbecile Francis II. succeeded to the throne of his father Henry; during his brief reign he was the mere tool of the Guises, whose great anxiety was to establish the Inquisition in France. Philip II. was engaged in a similar attempt in the Netherlands, and both provoked a desperate resistance. Like his father Charles V., Philip was ambitious of universal monarchy, but he used different means; he hoped to gain the clergy by his zeal, to win the nobles by the bribes which the wealth of Spanish America enabled him to offer, and to subdue the people by the united efforts of ecclesiastical and aristocratic influence. But in the Netherlands, as in France, the proposal to establish the Inquisition

was a fatal error of despotism; it provoked the fierce resistance of all who were worthy of their country, it identified the papacy with cruelty and slavery, it gave to the reformed leaders the proud title of deliverers of their country. The election of Pius IV. to the chair of St. Peter precipitated the civil war in France (A. D. 1560). A conspiracy was formed for removing the Guises, in which many ardent Catholics joined; it was discovered and defeated, but the sanguinary cruelty of the Lorraine princes rendered their victory injurious to their cause; the memory of the martyrs they slaughtered won proselytes, and confirmed opposition. So powerful were the Huguenots, that liberty of conscience was sanctioned in an assembly of the Notables at Fontainebleau; and it was proposed to convoke a national council for regulating the affairs of the Gallican Church. Had France been ruled by an energetic sovereign, acquainted with the interests of his crown and the wishes of the nation, the French Church at this moment might have been rendered as independent of Rome as the English: the pope saw the danger, and he induced Francis to abandon the national synod, by promising the speedy convocation of a general council. Both the emperor and the King of France objected to re-assembling the bishops at Trent, declaring that its name was odious to the Protestants; but the ill-health of Francis II., who was fast sinking into the grave, induced Pius to quicken his proceedings, and bulls for the continua-

tion of the council were issued. In the mean time the States-General assembled in France. The Prince of Condé and the King of Navarre, the great leaders of the Huguenot party, were arrested when they appeared at court, and the former received sentence of death. But the queen-mother, Catherine de Médicis, dreading that the regency would be seized by the Guises when the king died, secretly intrigued with the Huguenots to secure their support, and the life of Condé was the pledge and the reward of their assistance. But while she thus courted the alliance of the Protestants, she secretly informed Philip II. that her hatred of the Reformation was unabated, and that she only waited a favourable opportunity to imitate his example of merciless butchery and persecution. She intrigued with both parties, a fatal error; for had she frankly embraced one, she would have stamped the other with the character of revolt; her Italian cunning only served to render civil war inevitable.

The Duke of Guise saw clearly that, to sustain the part he designed to act, it was necessary to attempt something of more than ordinary magnitude, he raised the cry, "the Church is in danger;" ignorance and bigotry responded to the summons; he placed himself at the head of the zealous supporters of papal infallibility, hoping to destroy, by one blow, the queen-regent, who was suspected of culpable indifference to the interests of the faith, the government, which seemed ready to recognise the principles

of toleration, and the Huguenots. Like his opponents, he appealed to the people, and attempted to guide public opinion; like them, too, he declared himself the steadfast friend of the monarchy: thus the struggle between the two parties had for its prize the throne of France, and for its pretext the defence of royalty.

In the mean time the Council of Trent continued its deliberations, without showing any symptom of a desire to conciliate the spirit of the age, by improving either the doctrine or the discipline of the Church. The bishops wasted their time in scholastic disputations, and proved how delusive were their professions of a desire for peace, by celebrating the victory obtained over the Huguenots at Dreux, by a public thanksgiving. In fact, the council terrified nobody but Pius IV., who saw his power attacked on every side. Maximilian, the son of the Emperor Ferdinand, having been elected King of the Romans, refused for a long time to receive the sanction of his election from the pontiff, and finally accepted it as a mere ceremony, venerable on account of its antiquity; it would have been better for the Holy See to have abjured such a privilege, than to have it preserved as a subject of ridicule and mockery.

But though the public proceedings at Trent were far from injuring the progress of the Reformation, there were secret plans devised fraught with imminent peril to the Protestants. One of these was revealed by the imprudence of the Cardinal of Lor-

raine. On the 10th of May, 1563, he read a letter from his niece, Mary Queen of Scots, "submitting herself to the council, and promising that, when she succeeded to the throne of England, she would subject both her kingdoms to the obedience due to the Apostolic See." He added, verbally, that she would have sent prelates, as representatives of Scotland, to the council, had she not been restrained by the necessity of keeping terms with her heretical councillors. The Italians were engaged everywhere alarming monarchs with the republican tendency of the Reformation; a charge which seemed to derive some support from the revolts of the peasants in Germany, the troubles in Flanders, and the confusion of France. Philip II. was not the only sovereign who regarded heretics as rebels, and believed that the papacy would be found an efficient aid to despotism in crushing civil as well as religious liberty.

At length the Council of Trent terminated its sittings; eighteen years of debate had produced no plan of reform for ecclesiastical morals, discipline, or doctrine (A. D. 1564). One of the last acts of the assembled fathers was to issue an anathema against heretics, which justified the Protestants in their refusal to recognise the acts of the council. But we should commit a great error if we supposed that this last of the general councils produced no change in the constitution of the papacy; it organized the spiritual despotism of the popes, clearly

perceiving that the temporal empire was irrecoverably lost, and it placed the Holy See in the position of an ally to the monarchs who were eager to maintain despotic power. From the time of this council to the present day, every sovereign of France and Spain, remarkable for hostility to constitutional freedom, has been equally conspicuous for his attachment to the Holy See, and the articles of faith ratified by the Council of Trent. It was by this assembly that the marriage of priests was definitely prohibited. We have already shown how necessary an element this law has been to the spiritual despotism possessed, and temporal supremacy claimed, by the popes. Family and country had no ties on the bishops of the Catholic Church; Rome enjoyed exclusive possession of every feeling that can render man a good subject or a good citizen; the infallibility and omnipotence of the pope were made articles of faith, by prelates whose whole heart was engaged in supporting the supremacy of the Holy See; the popes could rouse nations to revolt, and trouble empires, because they had obedient emissaries in every parish; the doctrine of implicit submission to the successors of St. Peter was taught by priests, when it could not be enforced by armies, and it was found sufficiently efficacious to harass Europe with a century of war. Pius IV. comprehended the immense value of an unmarried clergy; though he had violently condemned the administration of the eucharist in both kinds, he relaxed the

prohibition at the instance of the Emperor Maximilian, and permitted the cup to be given to the laity in Germany; but on the point of celibacy he was inflexible, for he was justly convinced that it was the great bond by which all the portions of papal domination were united, and that, if it should be relaxed, the entire edifice would fall in sunder.

After the dissolution of the council, a general suspicion was diffused through the Protestants of Europe, that a league for their destruction had been formed by some of the leading Catholic powers. It is now sufficiently notorious that these suspicions were not groundless, and that Pius IV. was weary of the slow steps by which the members of this pretended holy alliance advanced to the verge of an exterminating war. He earnestly urged a personal interview between Catherine de Médicis and Philip II.; it was declined by the latter on account of his ill-health, but he sent a worthy representative, the Duke of Alva, to hold a conference with the queen-regent and her son, Charles IX., at Bayonne. The pretext for the meeting was an interview between the young Queen of Spain and her mother, Catherine de Médicis; but the presence of the Duke of Alva, the avowed enemy of the Protestants, whose extirpation he openly proclaimed to be his most solemn duty to God or man, was a clear proof that more important designs were contemplated. The days were spent in all the sports and festivities that are to be found in a luxurious and licentious

court. But at the dead hour of midnight, when the courtiers, exhausted by the tournament, the table, and the dance, retired to repose, Catherine held secret conferences with Alva in the apartments of her probably unconscious daughter, Elizabeth. They agreed in their object; they differed respecting the means; Alva recommended an immediate and general massacre, similar to the Sicilian Vespers; Catherine preferred the craft and wiles of Italy; both finally determined to seek an opportunity of destroying the incorrigible leaders of the heretical factions, but time and expediency were not to be disregarded.

Philip began to execute his part of the agreement by a vigorous effort to establish the Inquisition in Flanders; and to put an end to the insurrection which such a measure provoked, he appointed the Duke of Alva, Lord Lieutenant of the Netherlands, with almost absolute authority. Many of the Flemish merchants and manufacturers left their country; they brought their industry and their capital to England,—a circumstance which had no small share in the rapid growth of England's commercial prosperity. The cruelties of Alva, the noble resistance of the Prince of Orange, long the head and hope of the Protestant party in Europe, and the final establishment of the independence of the Seven United Provinces, belong to general history; but in this narrative we must not omit to mention, that Philip's brutal obstinacy was frequently

blamed by the court of Rome; the crafty Italians would have preferred fraud to violence, and assassination to the perils of open war (A. D. 1572). It must also be mentioned, that the Turks joined in the contest as the protectors of the Flemings, and that their defeat by Don John of Austria, at Lepanto, finally delivered Europe from the perils with which it was menaced by Mohammedan barbarism. Pius V., who ascended the papal throne A. D. 1566, was disposed to take advantage of the victory at Lepanto, and organize a league against the Turks; but Philip was jealous of the glory acquired by his brother, and he declared that nothing should divert him from the prosecution of the war in Flanders. This pontiff, who was afterwards canonized as a saint, was inflexible in his hatred of the Protestants, but he made some efforts to remedy the evils of the Church by founding schools and colleges, and excluding persons of immoral life from ecclesiastical dignities. He was succeeded by Gregory XIII.

The wars of the Huguenots in France produced no decisive result; a peace was concluded in 1570, on terms so favourable to the Protestants, that it is wondrous how they could avoid suspecting the sincerity of their adversaries. But protestations of friendship were readily made by Catherine de Médicis; she had trained her son, Charles IX., to similar hypocrisy; both professed such personal regard for the leaders of the Huguenots, and such jealousy of the court of Spain, that even the Admi-

ral Coligny, who had long known the perfidious character of the queen-mother, was deceived, and lent his aid to lull the suspicions of his confederates. It was proposed that the sister of Charles should marry Henry of Bourbon, Prince of Navarre, the pride and hope of the Protestant party, and the leading Huguenots were invited to Paris to share in the festivities of the nuptials. The Prince of Navarre was married; some weeks passed in feasts and amusements, which completed the blind confidence of the Huguenots; to such an excess, indeed, did Charles carry his dissimulation, that, when an attempt was made on the life of Coligny, he hasted to the admiral's bedside, and professed the deepest sympathy for his sufferings. "Father," said the royal hypocrite, "the wound is yours, but the pain is mine!" Who that heard him, could have supposed that within thirty hours even a son of Catherine de Médicis would have commanded a ruthless massacre, of which the unfortunate Coligny should be the earliest victim?

We have no materials by which the secret history of the plot can be traced; it was undoubtedly devised by Catherine and Alva at the conferences of Bayonne; but her political interests must have rendered her slow in the execution. She knew that the Huguenots served as a counterpoise to the influence of the Spanish monarch and the Guises; she must have shuddered at the horror which such a massacre would excite throughout Europe, and

there is reason to believe that she had some difficulty in overcoming her son's aversion to such an atrocious crime. Obedient to his mother's counsels, Charles had lavished the most ardent professions of friendship on the Protestant leaders, while he exultingly boasted to his infamous confidants of the success with which they were ensnared; still, when the fearful moment drew near, his resolution began to fail: his frame trembled, and the perspiration stood in cold drops on his brow. Catherine stood near, and at length extorted his command to give the signal; the fatal tocsin sounded, his native ferocity returned, and he took a leading part in the massacre of his unfortunate subjects.

It would be a mere repetition of horrors to recite the particulars of the well-known massacre of St. Bartholomew. The sun, on the morning of the 24th of August, revealed the city of Paris converted into a vast slaughter-house; the work of massacre and pillage was continued during eight days and nights; the king, after a slight hesitation, avowed his share in the transaction; and the pope did not hesitate to celebrate the perfidious massacre by public thanksgivings at Rome. Some modern writers have attempted to show that this slaughter was not premeditated; the utmost, however, that they have effected, is to prove that Charles hesitated in consummating his iniquity; but as an event in the political history of popery, it matters little whether the massacre was premeditated or not.

The extermination of heretics had been recently and publicly preached by the popes as the first especial duty of Christian princes; and though the particular act was not recommended beforehand, a matter which may admit of doubt, it was unquestionably adopted when it was made the subject of a jubilee, and when a medal was struck in the papal mint to commemorate so glorious an event. It was regarded as equally glorious with the victories of Alva in the Netherlands, and the triumph over the Turks at Lepanto; and the papal court published a jubilee, inviting the faithful throughout Christendom to rejoice over the three great achievements, which in its blindness it presumed would ensure the certain triumph of the Church. But Gregory forgot that such horrors only envenom hostility; the effect of his premature joy was only to strengthen the determination of Protestants to maintain their faith, and to disgust a large body of those who adhered to the papacy but shuddered at crime.

Chapter XX.

THE WARS OF RELIGION IN GERMANY.

From a. d. 1572 to a. d. 1648.

The massacres of St. Bartholomew were continued for several days; popular passions and private revenge were armed with the dagger and the crucifix. Several Catholics were murdered by their personal enemies; and Peter Ramus was assassinated by Charpentier, in consequence of a dispute respecting the logic of Aristotle! But some feelings of remorse began to seize the authors of such butchery; Charles IX., suspicious of his mother and of the Guises, tortured by the remembrance of his perfidy and cruelty, shocked at the load of infamy which he knew must for ever be attached to his name, and already sensible of the approach of disease, attempted to throw the responsibility of the butchery on the princes of Lorraine. They rejected the charge with contemptuous indignation, sneering at the cowardice of the attempt; and Charles IX., passing into the opposite extreme, publicly proclaimed that the murders were committed by his order, and that they were a just retribution for an attempt which the Protestants had made on his life. On the same day the royal ratification of the mur-

ders, and a declaration confirming the edicts of peace, were issued; a wanton insult to the Protestants, for which it is difficult to assign a reason.

The horror excited throughout Europe was not checked by the favour with which the intelligence was received at the courts of Rome and Madrid. In England, Elizabeth was scarcely able to control the indignation of her subjects; when the French ambassador came to vindicate the conduct of his master, he found the whole court clad in mourning, and not a courtier would speak, or even look at him, as he advanced to lay his credentials before the queen. The princes and people of Germany were unanimous in their maledictions; and Catherine, assailed by a thousand pamphlets and pasquinades, had reason to fear that she had deprived her favourite son, the Duke of Anjou, of the Polish throne, for which he was a candidate. In this opinion she was mistaken; but when the prince was about to depart for the kingdom to which he had been elected, she could not avoid declaring that his absence would be of short duration. The conduct of Charles IX. began to exhibit the violence and inconsistency of madness; his intellects, never of a high order, were shaken by the horrors of St. Bartholomew: and Catherine learned to tremble for her own safety. A plot appears to have been formed for securing the crown of France to the Duke of Alençon, the younger brother of Charles, who was seized with a wasting disease, for which

medicine supplied no remedy. It was detected by Catherine, and the leaders punished. A darker conspiracy appears to have been formed by the Guises, but the miserable death of Charles compelled them to delay their efforts.

Henry III. hastily escaped from Poland, on hearing the news of his brother's death, and was unanimously recognised as King of France. Elizabeth now ventured to interfere on behalf of the French Protestants, and solicited Henry to issue an edict of toleration. As, however, she strictly prohibited dissent from the established religion in England, she had reason to dread that her remonstrance might provoke a harsh retort. She therefore desired her ambassador to declare, that the penal statutes of England were the work of the parliament rather than the sovereign.

So much has been recently written on the laws of exclusion and the punishment of dissent in Protestant states, and the advocates of the Romish Church have so zealously exerted themselves to retort the charge of persecution on their adversaries, that it is necessary to say a very few words upon the subject. It is undeniable, that many of the leaders in the Reformation denied to others the liberty of conscience which they claimed for themselves; Cranmer extorted a reluctant consent for the execution of Joan Boucher from the virtuous Edward VI., and Calvin presided at the burning of Servetus. But the Protestant doctrines had a direct tendency to

show the justice of toleration, and the absurdity of dictating to the conscience; as they advanced, the spirit of persecution retired, and liberty of opinion was soon established wherever the principles of the Reformation became completely victorious. On the contrary, every triumph of the Romish Church was followed by more stringent measures against liberty of conscience; persecution prevailed in consequence of the Romish creed, but in spite of Protestant doctrines. The particular instance of Elizabeth demonstrates, that her enforcement of the penalties enacted by parliament against the professors of the ancient creed, was the result of policy rather than bigotry. The Huguenots were faithful subjects to Henry; they never impugned his title to the throne, they never tendered their allegiance to another claimant of the kingdom: but the adherents of the Romish Church in England, were enemies to the title as well as the religion of Elizabeth; they repudiated her as a bastard, a heretic, and usurper; they regarded Mary, Queen of Scots, as their legitimate sovereign. The religious question was thus absorbed in the political; those who suffered from the confusion, should not have blamed the queen, who was equally its victim, but the criminal folly of those popes who claimed a right to dispose of the English crown, and made treason to the reigning sovereign an article of faith. It may be added, that Elizabeth frequently showed, not only tolerance, but personal regard, for those who adhered

to the Romish faith, without sacrificing their English allegiance; it was to the Roman Catholic Earl of Effingham that she entrusted the command of her navy against the Invincible Armada; while the loyalty of the subject is quoted as an example of liberality on one side, assuredly the confidence of the sovereign is just as strong an argument on the other.

Henry III., on his arrival in France, beheld himself placed between two factions, both of which he cordially hated, the Huguenots and the Guises; he began by waging war on the former, without making any effort to gain the support of the latter. Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé had saved their lives, during the fatal massacre of St. Bartholomew, by apparently conforming to the Romish faith; they took an early opportunity of escaping from the captivity in which they were detained, and resuming their place as leaders of the Huguenots. They were joined by the king's brother, the Duke of Alençon, and secretly aided with money by Elizabeth. A body of Germans came to their aid, under the command of Casimir, son of the Elector Palatine; Henry was soon reduced to such extremities, that he not only conceded all their demands to his Protestant subjects, but even consented to pay the German auxiliaries who had assisted in his degradation. Elizabeth displayed the same prudence in holding the balance between Philip II. and the insurgents in the Netherlands, which she manifested

in the contest between Henry and the Huguenots; but her subjects were more zealous than their sovereign, and several Englishmen served as volunteers under the Prince of Condé in France, and the Prince of Orange in Flanders.

The concessions made by Henry to the Protestants, gave great offence to the bigoted Romanists, especially those who had taken an active part in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. No longer sustained by a king, who had apostatized from their crime; the complicity which was their safe-guard being renounced, though with little sincerity, they had reason to dread reprisals, and they began to form secret leagues for mutual defence. The King of Spain and the pope encouraged such associations, in which assassination was to be aided by rebellion; the League was a necessary result of the slaughter of St. Bartholowmew, and it wanted no features that could identify its sanguinary origin.

Even at the Council of Trent, some steps had been taken to form the nefarious alliance, known by the name of the Holy League. Cardinal Lorraine, in forming this confederation for the extirpation of heresy, united the interests of his family to those of the Church; for while he made the pope its ostensible leader, he nominated his brother, the Duke of Guise, to be its general. The death of that prince adjourned the completion of the League; his son was too young to enter immediately on so vast a heritage of ambition. But after the accession of Henry III.,

Guise, in the full vigour of his age, comprehended the importance of his position between an indolent monarch and a fanatic people; he revived the project of the League, as the surest means of opening his way to the throne: he recommended it to the pope, as the certain remedy for the extirpation of heresy; he persuaded Philip II. that it would subdue the Protestants in the Netherlands, and drive Henry of Bourbon from Navarre; he pointed out to the bigoted Romanists, that union with him could alone ensure the destruction of the heretics. His plan was to take advantage of the convocation of the States-General at Blois; nothing was neglected which could ensure the election of deputies favourable to the projects of the house of Lorraine; the pulpit and the confessional lent their powerful aid; the pope and the King of Spain gave money and influence; the passions of the populace were enlisted in the same unholy cause. When the States met, Henry saw that he was virtually deposed; had Guise not yielded to an excess of caution, he might have seized the sceptre which was within his grasp; but while he hesitated, the king proclaimed himself head of the League, revoked the concessions recently made to the Protestants, and thus removed the pretexts which the bigoted party designed to have urged for his deposition. But by this duplicity he only gained a temporary respite; the Huguenots refused submission to the edicts of Blois; Henry attempted to win them by delusive promises; he

failed, but he gave Guise the opportunity of branding him as a traitor to the League, and an apostate from the holy cause which he had so recently taken under his protection.

France was not the only country harrassed by the intrigues and ambition of the Guises; from the moment of their alliance with the papacy, they seem to have adopted the universality of its thirst for power as well as its fanaticism. Elizabeth of England was the enemy they most feared and detested, not only because she was the leader and the hope of the reformed party throughout Europe, but also because she detained in prison their niece, Mary Stuart, whom they, and indeed all the Romish party, regarded as the rightful owner of the English throne. Elizabeth, aware of her hazardous position, strictly prohibited the Romish religion, and this measure, which was forced upon her by the necessity of self-defence, was represented by the Romanists as an act of atrocious tyranny. The pope, the King of Spain, and the Guises, incessantly sought means of harassing the government and subverting the throne of the great Protestant Queen. Don John of Austria, the hero of Lepanto, who had been sent to continue the war in the Netherlands after the removal of Alva and Requesens, formed a plan of assembling together all the partisans of the Romish Church, under pretence of crushing the Flemish revolt by one decisive blow, suddenly making a descent in England, delivering Mary Queen of

Scots, claiming her hand as his reward, and placing upon his head a diadem, which the pope would have recognised and blessed as Catholic and legitimate. Philip II. promised aid; Pope Gregory offered money; the Guises tendered their support, the hand of their niece, and her claims to empire. All that Don John wanted was a victory in Flanders; but the Flemings, aided by the Huguenots, the Duke of Alençon, the Prince of Orange, and a gallant auxiliary legion, severely repulsed his legions in Brabant (A. D. 1578). He died shortly after; suspicions were entertained that Philip had used poison to remove a brother, whose ambition he dreaded, and whose fame he envied.

Elizabeth, aware of the plans that had been formed for her destruction in the courts of Rome and Madrid, banished the Jesuits and missionary priests from her dominions, justly regarding them as the vanguard of the Romish armies. She entered into closer alliance with the enemies of Spain and the papacy; amused the Duke of Alençon with hopes of her hand, if he succeeded in conquering the Netherlands; promised her aid to the King of Navarre, and could not conceal her displeasure and distress when Philip II. became master of a new kingdom. Sebastian, King of Portugal, instigated by this perfidious sovereign, led an army against the Moors of Africa, and was slain in the battle of Alcazar. His brother, Cardinal Henry, was refused a dispensation of his celibate vows by the pope, who

hoped to assume the forgotten privilege of bestowing the succession of kingdoms. But Philip, on this occasion, outwitted the pontiff; he amused the papal legate with processions and festivities at Madrid, while a Spanish army, under the command of the Duke of Alva, made a rapid march on Lisbon, and proclaimed Philip King of Portugal and Algarvez.

The King of Spain was now master of the largest monarchy that probably ever obeyed the laws of a single prince, but he did not rest from his aggressions of foreign states, and France became the great object of his insatiable ambition. That country enjoyed the outward appearance of tranquillity, but the League pursued in secret its dangerous system of organization. In every parish, registers were opened by the clergy for the names of such as would bind themselves to maintain the inviolability of the faith; they were soon filled by the signatures of all the seditious and all the fanatics of France: the Duke of Guise only wanted an opportunity for renewing his efforts. The Huguenots, on their side, perceiving the approach of danger, began to prepare for new combats; throughout all France there was a perceptible agitation of society, like the upheaving of the waves which presages the approach of a storm. The King of Navarre, at the instigation of the Duke of Alençon, renewed the war, but soon agreed to terms of peace, which no party expected to see observed. Alençon hoped to obtain the hand

of Elizabeth, and the sovereignty of the Netherlands; but the queen appears to have been insincere in the encouragement she gave him. The Flemings, after having chosen him for their monarch, discovered that his debaucheries rendered him contemptible, and his tyranny dangerous. He attempted to become the absolute master of those who had voluntarily elected him, and his subjects expelled from their land the ungrateful despot to whose charge they had entrusted their dearly-purchased liberties.

The death of Alençon (A. D. 1584) led to the revival of the League; Henry III. was childless: the nearest legitimate heir to the French crown was Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, the acknowledged leader of the Huguenots, and the terror of the Romish party. Philip II. encouraged the ambitious Guise to aim at the succession, and gave him an example of unscrupulous policy, too often sanctioned by the courts of Rome and Madrid. Five assassins were instigated at once by fanaticism and Spanish gold to attempt the life of the Prince of Orange, the great leader of the Dutch Protestants. He fell a victim, but the cause for which he had lived and died was not weakened by his fall: on the contrary, the union between the States of Holland may be said to have been cemented with his blood. The peace of Nemours, dictated by the Duke of Guise to Catherine de Médicis, proved equally the strength of the subject, and the feebleness of the monarch. In this treaty, the objects of the League were solemnly

approved; the profession of any religion but the Roman Catholic prohibited, under pain of death; the Protestant ministers banished, and only six months allowed to their congregations to choose between abjuration and exile. Such was the law of the Guises. In their treaty with the King of Spain, they promised to abolish the Salic law, to confiscate the property of heretics for the benefit of the leaguers, to establish the Inquisition, and to receive those decrees of the Council of Trent which destroyed the liberties of the Gallican Church. Though the last article was peculiarly gratifying to the pope, yet Gregory, probably through jealousy of the ambitious house of Lorraine, could never be induced to sanction the League and the treaties on which it rested by a formal bull. The most efficient auxiliary to the leaguers was Henry III. himself. Tempted by the Guises on one side, and the Huguenots on the other, the puppet of whichever party happened to be nearest at the moment: he knew not whither to turn for support, or where to repose confidence. The Huguenots demanded liberty of conscience, and directed all their vengeance for the massacre of St. Bartholomew against the princes of Lorraine, while to the king they were ready, if permitted, to evince the most loyal attachment; while the leaguers had religion for their pretext, and the throne for their object. It was neither very difficult, nor very dangerous, for Henry III. to determine in which camp reason and interest required him to plant his banner.

But his fanaticism rivalled his debaucheries; instead of combating his real enemies, he solicited Henry of Navarre to change his religion, and sanctioned the anathemas which Sixtus V. hurled against this prince, the founder of the line of Bourbon. The leader of the Huguenots was indulging in the folly and dissipation of youth, when the bull of excommunication brought him back to his former self: he caused an energetic reply to be fixed on the gates of the Vatican, and so pleased was the pope with this manifestation of a courageous spirit, that he refused, for the future, to grant any subsidies to the League.

Sixtus V. obtained the papacy by extraordinary cunning; when the declining health of Gregory XIII. announced that a vacancy could not be far distant, he assumed every outward sign of disease and decrepitude, so that those who beheld him as he passed through the streets, exclaimed, "God help you, poor old man, your race is almost run!" Such an address would have been little gratifying to any body else, but to him it conveyed the pleasing information that his artifices had completely succeeded: that the mask of weakness concealed his vigour, just as that of humility veiled his pride and his ambition. On the day of election, when the cardinals crowded to congratulate him in the conclave, he sat coughing, as if in the last stage of pulmonary consumption, and weeping as if he had been just overtaken by some fearful misfortune.

But when he saw, by the scrutiny, that a sufficient number of votes had been recorded to secure his election, he put an end to the farce, flung away his staff, and appeared taller by almost a foot than he had done for years before. The cardinal-dean, alarmed by such appearances, called out, "There is some mistake in the scrutiny!" Sixtus sternly replied, "There is, and there can, be no mistake!" and immediately began to chant the *Te Deum*, in such a strong and audible voice, that the whole conclave remained mute in astonishment. When the cardinals came to offer the usual homage, one of them could not forbear observing, "I perceive, holy father, that the pontificate is an admirable medicine, —it can restore aged and sick cardinals to youth and health: your holiness seems quite a different man from what you were a few hours ago." Sixtus replied, with an ironical smile, "Yes, I was then looking for the keys of Paradise, which obliged me to stoop a little; but now that I have found them, it is time to look upwards, as I am arrived at the summit of all human glory, and can climb no higher in this world."

When the new pope appeared in the streets of Rome, the citizens could scarcely believe their senses, so wondrous was the transformation of his appearance, while the downcast looks of the cardinals fully proved that they were anything but pleased with the change (A. D. 1585). According to custom, the multitude saluted him with cries of "Plenty, holy father, plenty

and justice!" to which he replied, "Pray to God for plenty, and I will give you justice!" He kept his promise; immediately after his election several criminals and banditti surrendered themselves, hoping that a general pardon would be published at the coronation. But they were fatally disappointed; Sixtus rejected every application made in their behalf, and four of them were executed on the very day which they expected would have produced their liberty.

The fate of the papacy, humanly speaking, might have been different, had Sixtus held the reins of government when Luther first began to preach the doctrines of the Reformation; but he ascended the chair of St. Peter when the zeal of parties, exasperated by controversy, and tested in the field, had led both too far to admit of a reconciliation. He, therefore, bounded his ambition to ensuring the supremacy of his power in Italy, and for this purpose he resolved to expel Philip II. from the kingdom of Naples.

Sixtus admired, as we have said, the firmness of the Bourbon; Elizabeth's courage inspired him with similar respect, and, notwithstanding her heresy, he secretly sought her alliance. He advised her to aid the insurgents in the Netherlands; the difference of religion only served as a cloak to hide the negotiations of the crafty pontiff: the English envoy was apparently a persecuted exile, but he was a faithful servant of Elizabeth, and he confirmed the pope in his hostility to Spain.

Philip II. was thus attacked with his own weapons; the Netherlands were wrested from his sway by a Protestant queen and a Roman pontiff (A. D. 1586). He comforted himself by entering into alliance with the Ottoman empire, and by zealously supporting the leaguers in France. That unfortunate kingdom was divided entirely between the Huguenots and the fanatic partisans of the Church; no one had either the courage or the sense to propose a neutral course; moderation had no representative, and the king no party. Alternately the puppet of his mother, the Guises, the clergy, the court, and the profligate companions of his debauchery, Henry III. feared nothing but the triumph of the Huguenots, and could find safety nowhere but in their camp.

The immense preparations of the two parties, ranged under Bourbon and Guise, announced that the struggle would be decisive; the league must either fall to pieces, or triumph at once over royalty and heresy. But the principles of the Reformation had now taken a deep root, around them were twined all the hopes of civil and religious improvement; with them was identified the wants of the age, and the progress of civilization.

Philip II., the great enemy of the new ideas which were beginning to illumine Europe, could not even count on the sincere co-operation of Sixtus V.; the papacy was in secret alliance with the enemies of the Romish faith. Even the judicial murder of Mary Queen of Scots, the greatest stain on the

character of Elizabeth, was rather approved than condemned, by a pontiff who would not have been sorry to see more than one crowned head rolling before his own footstool. He went through the form of publishing a bull of excommunication, and encouraged Philip to invade Britain, but he sent information to Elizabeth of the plans formed for her destruction, together with copies of the letters he had received from the King of Spain. The event is well known: the Armada, proudly named Invincible, was utterly routed; its remnants became the prey of the winds and waves; the most powerful armament that ever sailed from a European port became memorable only as a mockery and by-word for the result of idle boasts, and frustrated ambition.

Sixtus heartily despised the League and all its promoters; but he was forced, by the circumstances of his position, to issue bulls in favour of an alliance professedly formed for the defence of his own power. The French clergy, most of whom were "greater papists than the pope," raised so formidable a party in favour of the Guises, that Henry III. was forced to abandon Paris, lest the Duchess of Montpensier should fulfil her threat of qualifying him for a monastery, by cutting off his hair with golden scissors; but he left behind him the edict of union, the greatest disgrace of a reign so fertile in dishonour, and the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom to his rival, the Duke of Guise, with a promise of having this abandonment of royalty

confirmed by the States-General in their assembly at Blois.

The deputies at Blois were prepared to go the full length of deposing their sovereign; the crown seemed already within the grasp of Guise, when he was assassinated by the king's command, and his brother, the cardinal, shared the same fate (A. D. 1586). Sixtus V. expressed little concern for the murder of Guise. "We should have done the same," said he, to a French cardinal, "were we in Henry's place." But the unnecessary murder of the Cardinal Lorraine did not meet equal forbearance; the pope, as was said by an equally unscrupulous politician, thought it worse than a crime; it was a blunder, and for a blunder Sixtus V. had no pardon. He thundered forth anathemas against Henry III.; the French clergy repeated them; the populace forgot even the murder of their hero in eagerness to avenge the martyrdom of a prelate. The churches of Paris resounded with imprecations against Henry of Valois; the heads of the League, the bigots of the Church, and the theologians of the Sorbonne, organized a royalty of revolt, and proclaimed the Duke of Mayenne, brother of the murdered Guise, Lieutenant-General of the State Royal and Crown of France; an unintelligible title, but which was meant as a substitute for sovereignty. Henry III. was forced to seek shelter in the Protestant camp; he enlisted large bodies of Swiss infantry and German cavalry; the gallant Bourbon

brought the whole strength of the Huguenots to his aid; most of the princes of the blood, and the chief nobility, gathered round the royal standard; and the king, who seemed to have been suddenly restored to the vigour and valour which distinguished his youth, advanced towards Paris at the head of forty thousand men. Nothing could save the insurgents but a miracle or a crime; they chose the latter. A Dominican friar, named James Clement, having obtained admission, under some delusive pretext, to the royal camp, stabbed the king to the heart, and was himself instantly put to death by the guards.

The death of Henry III. was the ruin of the League. It had now to contend against the brave Bourbon, who, as Henry IV., became lawful King of France, and who seemed inclined to conciliate the revolters by formally reconciling himself to the Church. He knew that Sixtus V. was favourably inclined to his cause. The pope looked upon the assassination of Henry III. merely as the removal of a troublesome blockhead; and when Henry IV. showed an inclination to court his favour, he formally separated himself from the League.

Philip II. was greatly displeased by the pope's policy; but his rage knew no bounds when Sixtus published an Italian version of the Bible, and sanctioned its unrestricted sale. Many zealous cardinals having vainly entreated the pope to suppress the edition, earnestly besought Philip to interfere; but

his remonstrances were unavailing; and he contemplated calling a general council to depose the pope as a heretic. Olivarez, the Spanish ambassador at Rome, received orders to notify this resolution to the pontiff in a public manner; but Sixtus commanded his guards, if any such attempt should be made, to put the intruder to death on the spot; Olivarez was disheartened, and his master, alarmed by such a decisive proof of the pontiff's firmness, abandoned his plan of a general council.

The death of Pope Sixtus (A. D. 1590) delayed the triumph of Henry IV.; Urban VII. only retained the papacy thirteen days; and his successor, Gregory XIV., was himself a patron of the League, and his policy was followed by Innocent IX. and Clement VIII. (A. D. 1592). But during these rapid changes in the occupancy of the Holy See, the excessive fanaticism of the Leaguers had disgusted all but the most bigoted of their followers, and some of the most zealous of the French Catholics became anxious for the triumph of their legitimate monarch. Henry IV., by the advice, or at least with the consent, of Elizabeth and the Protestant leaders, openly embraced the Romish religion (A. D. 1593); and Clement VIII., seeing that the League had no prospect of success, after some delay, formally granted him absolution, September 17, 1595. Philip II., beginning to feel the infirmities of old age, and becoming sensible of the evils resulting from his extravagant ambition, to which his bigotry

had always been subservient, concluded a treaty of peace at Vervins; and finally the liberties of the Huguenots were secured by the edict of Nantes, which established religious toleration in France (A. D. 1599). Some resistance was made to the registration of the edict by the parliament of Paris; but the judicious firmness of the king subdued opposition, and the triumph of reason was complete.

The death of Philip II. completed the dissolution of the League; with him were buried the chimerical projects of founding universal monarchy on bigotry and intolerance. An ungrateful son, an unnatural father, a cruel husband, a merciless master, an implacable enemy, a faithless ally, a voluptuous hypocrite; he had caused more blood to be shed in the field than any monarch who had yet reigned in modern Europe, while at least one hundred thousand victims of his fanaticism and cruelty perished at the stake, on the scaffold, or by poison. His son, Philip III., inherited the brutal superstition of his father, but seems to have been free from his darker vices; his chief care was to humble the nobility and exalt the ecclesiastics of his kingdom. Peace supplied the means, and they were unscrupulously used by his minister, the Cardinal Lerma.

Clement VIII. had soon an opportunity of winning the favour of Henry IV.; that monarch was anxious to be divorced from Queen Margaret; their union had been unhappy,—but what was to be expected from a marriage solemnized by the massacre

of St. Bartholomew? The pope was too sensible of the consequences that had resulted from refusing a divorce to Henry VIII. of England to offend the King of France by raising difficulties, and he was decided by Henry's resolution to marry Mary de Médicis, with whom he was closely connected by the ties of blood. A greater error than the submission of the question of divorce to the papal tribunal, was the restoration of the Jesuits; whom Henry IV., in opposition to the advice of his wisest statesmen, permitted to establish themselves in France, at a time when their intrigues had rendered them odious throughout Christendom. To their machinations the Gunpowder Plot in England was generally attributed; James I., the successor of Elizabeth, was gladly welcomed to the throne of England by the Romish party, who expected some favour from the son of Mary Stuart. But finding James more hostile to the papacy than his predecessor, some of the most ardent bigots formed a plot for blowing up the two houses of parliament, when the king came in person to open the session (A. D. 1605). The conspiracy was discovered, and the punishment of the leaders was followed by a more rigid enforcement of the penal laws against the professors of the Romish faith.

Leo XI. only appeared on the papal throne to revive hopes of improvement, which were destined never to be fulfilled. He was succeeded by Paul V., who bent all his efforts to revive the ecclesiastical

authority and jurisdiction. The new pontiff brought with him to the throne a violent hatred of the Venetians, which was increased by their disregard of his mandates and his interdicts. When the Jesuits were about to quit the Venetian states, the doge sternly addressed them,—"Depart; take nothing hence; never presume to return." They hasted to Rome, and urged the pope to employ the temporal sword in their behalf. But the mere preparations for hostilities served to calm the pontiff's ardour, especially as he saw that such a contest might rekindle a war between France and Spain, whose result would place Italy at the mercy of the conquerors. He accepted the mediation of Henry IV.; the Venetians peremptorily refused to admit the Jesuits, the pope sacrificed them to his convenience, and they continued to be excluded from the dominions of the prudent republic.

These crafty men had formed a scheme of rule worthy of the darker ages; they sought to control the power of the prince by the conscience of the penitent; even Henry IV. was so far deluded as to choose a confessor from their order. Sigismund III., King of Poland, owed to their fatal influence the discontent of his Protestant subjects, and the troubles which harassed his kingdom. The King of Spain, who dishonoured royalty by an example of brutalizing superstition, submissive to the Jesuits, and a slave to the Inquisition, inflicted a mortal blow on the power of Spain by banishing the Moors,

the most industrious and valuable portion of his subjects. The Emperor Rodolph II., however, granted limitless freedom of conscience to the Germans; but the Protestant princes felt that the security of their religion should be established as a right, not ceded as a favour, and they formed a league, called the Evangelical Union, for their mutual protection. The succession to the duchies of Clèves and Juliers furnished a pretext for the war; policy induced Henry IV., as it had Francis I., to favour the Protestant union; but he thus revived the fanaticism of the League, and the Romish bigots declared that he was about to relapse into heresy, and make war on the pope. A fanatic, named Ravaillac, roused to fury by the suggestions of the king's enemies, resolved to remove him as a partisan of heretics, and took an opportunity of stabbing him to the heart (A D. 1610). But the world had advanced in civilization; the murder of Henry IV. grieved his very enemies, and was strenuously condemned by the leading Romish divines. Paul V. put his court into mourning, and paid his memory the unusual compliment of assisting personally at his obsequies, which were celebrated at Rome with great solemnity. He subsequently heard that some Frenchmen in Rome, partisans of the house of Lorraine, had rejoiced at the king's death, and celebrated the assassin as a deliverer of his country; upon which he gave orders for their immediate arrest, and, when the charge was proved, condemned them to the galleys.

Mary de Médicis assumed the regency of France after the murder of her husband, and at once abandoning Henry's prudent policy, submitted wholly to Spanish influence. The Protestants, justly alarmed, began to confederate at Saumur; but it must be confessed that many of their leaders were influenced rather by personal ambition than religion. In Germany, the Emperor Matthias prepared the way for the thirty years' war, by securing the succession to his cousin, Ferdinand of Gratz, and by forming a family compact with the Spanish branch of the house of Austria. War in France and Germany was inevitable; it was accelerated by the elevation of Gregory XV. to the papacy, who had been educated by the Jesuits, and had always favoured their detestable doctrines (A. D. 1621). Louis XIII., following his mother's policy, had greatly provoked the Huguenots, by several infractions of the edict of Nantes; Gregory wrote to the young king, recommending the total extirpation of the heretics, and sent a fanatic monk into France to preach a crusade against them. Urban VIII., with more moderation, followed the same course; but the policy of Europe now depended on the succession to the imperial throne; the Protestants opposed the Elector Palatine to the Emperor Ferdinand, and they were supported by the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, by Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, and soon afterwards by Cardinal Richelieu, to whom Louis confided the entire power of France (A. D. 1624).

The mixture of politics with religion led to some singular scenes; indeed both the defenders of the papacy and the promoters of the Reformation showed little scruple in sacrificing their principles to their interests. Richelieu sent a Protestant as an ambassador to the pope just before he seized the Valteline territory; the Spanish minister, Olivarez, entered into secret negotiations with the leaders of the French Huguenots, and supplied them with money to support their insurrections. Richelieu, successful in the field, granted a truce to the Huguenots, in spite of the remonstrances of the papal legate; but he only designed to lure them to their ruin, and the imprudence of the English government enabled him to triumph over the Protestants of France by capturing the citadel of their strength, and almost the only security for their safety, Rochelle (A. D. 1627). Buckingham, the favourite minister of Charles I., blinded his unhappy master to the fatal results which his partiality for the Romish course of European policy were preparing for himself and his kingdom. Mortified vanity induced this weak minister to set himself up as a rival of Richelieu,—he persuaded the Huguenots to tempt the hazards of war.

Richelieu eagerly accepted the challenge; Rochelle was speedily taken; the Huguenots had no longer a central point round which they could rally, nor any fixed plan to give unity to their confederation; their existence as a political power in France

was at an end. But the Protestant cause derived strength from this very calamity in a more important contest. Ferdinand II., Emperor of Germany, issued an edict commanding the Protestants to resign all the sees of which they had obtained possession since the pacification of Passau, and exiling all the teachers who refused to be reconciled to the Romish Church (A. D. 1629). War immediately was commenced; Gustavus Adolphus, the heroic King of Sweden, declared himself protector of the Protestant religion, and defender of the liberties of Germany; Richelieu, through hatred of the house of Austria, entered into close alliance with that monarch, and supplied him with money and munitions of war.

The great victory of Leipsic subjected half the empire to the Protestants, and made Ferdinand tremble for his hereditary dominions. In his distress, the emperor applied to the pope for assistance; but the Romish See had no sympathy for misfortune, and the emperor was mortified to find his defeat made the subject of reproach. So irritated was the house of Austria by the insolent reply of Urban VIII., that it made an effort to depose him; Cardinal Borgia, read a protestation in the presence of the cardinals and of the pope himself, issued by the King of Spain, in which the pontiff was denounced as the sole cause of the injuries which the Church suffered in Germany; and finally a Jesuit, confessor to the Duke of Olivarez, the Spanish

prime minister, forgetting the spirit of his order, published a spirited book against the power and usurpations of the Holy See.

The death of the brave Gustavus in the field of Lutzen did not destroy the courage of the German Protestants (A. D. 1633); the chancellor of Sweden, Oxenstiern, one of the wisest statesmen that Europe has produced, animated the spirits, and directed the councils of the confederates. They were, however, defeated at Nordlingen, and the league must have been dissolved but for the prompt aid which Richelieu afforded: this minister, who ruled France with a rod of iron, did not scruple to stimulate the subjects of the emperor, and of the Kings of England and Spain, to revolt. French gold had great influence in stimulating the Presbyterians and Puritans to commence a war against the unfortunate Charles I.; their pretext was the maintenance of public liberty, their success was followed by the establishment of military despotism.

A dreadful rebellion in Ireland burst forth about the time that the English civil war commenced (A. D. 1641). The pope sent Rinuncini as his nuncio into that country, which he claimed as part of the patrimony of St. Peter. But the intrigues, the insolence, and the incapacity of the legate, prepared the way for the conquest of the island by Cromwell. The Irish nobles, disgusted by the fanaticism of the priests, retired from the contest; divisions arose between those who desired to have the pope for

their sovereign and those who wished to preserve their conditional allegiance to England; Cromwell, with a mere handful of men, marched from one end of the kingdom to the other without encountering any effective opposition; and thus the interference of the pope proved fatal to the cause of popery in Ireland.

The vacancy in the Holy See, occasioned by the death of Urban, was supplied by the election of Innocent X. He commenced his reign by persecuting the family of his predecessor, the Barberini, who were forced to seek shelter in France. They were protected by Cardinal Mazarin, the successor of Richelieu in the French ministry, and afterwards, as head of the regency during the minority of Louis XIV., absolute master of France. To this unwise harshness, Innocent was urged by his sister-in-law, Donna Olympia, to whom he was passionately attached. She abused her authority in a most scandalous manner, and gained such an absolute ascendency over the pope, that in everything his will was subservient to her dictates. Her avarice and ambition were boundless; she disposed of all benefices, keeping them vacant until she could form a proper estimate of their value. She gave audience upon public affairs, enacted new laws, abrogated those of former popes, and was even admitted by Innocent to a share in the deliberations of the council. It was generally suspected that the pontiff's attachment to this powerful lady was not

limited within the bounds of innocence, and their correspondence was made the subject of lively pasquinades, both in Protestant and Catholic countries. She was removed for a short time from the administration, and the joy of the Romans proved how intolerable her sway had been; but she was again recalled, and reinstated in her former authority. Innocent was the mere instrument of his mistress during the rest of his inglorious reign. The papacy ceased to have any political influence in Christendom; the peace of Germany was restored by the treaty of Westphalia, and the triumph of Protestantism and free opinions was completed (A. D. 1649). Innocent denounced the treaty as an offence against God, the apostolic nuncio declared that the most calamitous war would be preferable to such a peace. But the Swedes and Lutherans were, notwithstanding, gratified in all their demands; Innocent's protestation in favour of orthodoxy and ecclesiastical possession was but the feeble cry of expiring despotism and powerless rage; like the thunders that are sometimes heard of a fine morning, reminding us of the storms of the past night without again awakening their terrors.

Chapter XXI.

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

From A. D. 1649 to A. D. 1715.

Were history to be confined to the recital of great events, the history of popery should terminate with the peace of Westphalia; for that treaty removed it for ever from its pride of place in the political world, and rendered it a very subordinate agent in the events it had long been accustomed to guide. But the papal ministers never resigned their high pretensions to supremacy,—never abandoned any of the monstrous claims which had alienated from them kings and nations,—never quite resigned their hopes of making the pontiffs once more supreme rulers of Christendom. But Rome saw that force could no longer be employed; craft and cunning were the only weapons it could henceforth use, because they are the weapons of the feeble and the weak. The inflexibility of the Church was proved to be shaken in the remarkable example of Casimir, King of Poland: he was not only a priest, but a cardinal, and when he was elevated to the throne, a dispensation was cheerfully granted, sanctioning his marriage with the widow of his predecessor.

After a severe contest, Alexander VII. was chosen to succeed Innocent in the papacy. He began his reign, by affecting extraordinary sanctity and humility. He fasted twice in the week; a coffin was always placed in his chamber, to remind him of his humanity; he slept upon a straw mattress, with a large stone for his pillow, and abolished the luxurious usages of the papal court. A prosecution was commenced against Donna Olympia, and the pontiff's relations were forbidden to appear in Rome. But Alexander soon repented of the oath he had taken not to receive his relatives into the city; by the advice of the Jesuit Pallavicini, he evaded the obligation, and went to meet them about two miles from Rome; thenceforth he heaped wealth and honours upon his family, and became as remarkable for nepotism as any of his predecessors. His austerities also were soon laid aside: he surpassed the most luxurious of the pontiffs in the magnificence of his robes, furniture, and equipages; became ridiculously vain, and proverbial for his habitual disregard of truth. He had soon the gratification of exhibiting his splendour to an illustrious convert. Christina, Queen of Sweden, a vain depraved woman, embraced the Romish faith, resigned her crown, and came to Rome, where she disgusted even the Italians by her flagrant immoralities; the pope, however, conferred on her the additional name of Alexandra, and the more substantial kindness of a large pension.

Alexander prevailed on the Venetians to restore the order of Jesuits, and heartily joined that body in their contest with the Jansenists of France. He issued a bull against five propositions said to be contained in the works of Jansenius, condemning them both "in the obvious sense," and "in the sense intended by the author." A confession of faith was prepared at the command of the French King, which was ordered to be subscribed, on oath, by all the clergy, the monks, and even the nuns. This strange formulary required all persons, though they might never have read or seen the writings of Jansenius, to swear that the five obnoxious propositions were contained in his book. Common sense revolted against such an absurdity, and many of the French prelates had the courage to resist both the king and the pope.

But though united in their hatred of Jansenism, there was little cordiality between Alexander VII. and Louis XIV. The pope was anxious to mediate a peace between France and Spain, but the negotiations were carefully concealed from him until the treaty was concluded, though, as if in mockery, the preamble attributes the pacification to the pontiff's prayers. The indignation of the pope led him to adopt measures pernicious to the general interests of Christendom; he baffled Mazarin's project for a general league of Christian states against the Turks, and withheld all aid from the Venetians, whose territories were invaded by the Mussulmans. An

insult offered to the French ambassador at Rome, nearly led to open hostilities; the wrath of Louis could only be appeased by the most mortifying concessions. Alexander delayed as long as he could, hoping that Germany or Spain might make some demonstration in his favour; but when he found that a French army was about to enter Italy, he submitted to every demand. The conduct of Louis was very inconsistent: he was equally resolved to maintain the principles of popery in their utmost rigour, and to establish the despotic power of his government. He did not perceive the inconsistency of his conduct, but it did not escape the notice of the doctors of the Sorbonne, who published a severe censure on the books of the Jesuits defending the old doctrines of papal supremacy and infallibility.

The Parliament of Paris supported the University, and the pope was forced to yield so far to public opinion, as to issue a bull, in which the most obnoxious doctrines attributed to the Jesuits were formally condemned. Soon afterwards Alexander sent three chests of relics to France, with a bull affirming their authenticity, and declaring that they might be exposed with confidence to the veneration of the people. Notwithstanding this bull, when the relics were examined by a skilful physician, one of them, entitled the skull of St. Fortunatus, was found to be artificially made of pasteboard, and fell to pieces upon being put into warm water. The physician, however, received a *lettre de cachet*, prohibit-

ing him from publishing the discovery, under pain of being sent to the Bastille.

Alexander did not long survive this detection; he has been praised by many Protestant writers for his liberality: they assure us that he strenuously condemned the horrid cruelties exercised on the *Vaudois*, or professors of the reformed religion in the valleys of Piedmont, and that he tried to mitigate the horrors of the Inquisition. One anecdote is very creditable to his memory: some English travellers at Rome, anxious to witness the ceremonies of the papal court, went with the general crowd to an audience, and were about to join in the usual acts of adoration; the pope rejected their homage, and severely reproved them for so far compromising their principles, as to unite in committing what they must have believed to be an act of idolatry.

Clement IX. began his reign by an effort to quiet the controversy between the Molinists and the Jansenists in France, which was carried on with so much bitterness, that it threatened fatal consequences to the peace of that kingdom. His efforts were for a season successful, but his other plans for the reform of the Church were defeated by his sudden death: he fell a victim to apoplexy, brought on by excessive indulgence in the pleasures of the table.

Clement X., an old man of eighty, was elected to the papal throne after a severe contest; his whole course of policy was directed to the elevation of his

family, and his adopted newhew, Cardinal Altieri, was invested with absolute power. A conspiracy was about this time formed for the re-establishment of popery in Europe, and reviving the empire of Charlemagne for Louis XIV. of France. England was the country whose opposition was most dreaded, but the king was secretly attached to the Romish Church; he and many of his ministers were pensioners of France, several powerful families in the North of England, and the great bulk of the Irish people, were secretly enemies to the reformed faith. The leaders of the Protestant party saw the approach of danger, but could not tell from what quarter the tempest was most likely to burst. In such seasons of suspicion men are easily duped by false accusations; Titus Oates professed that all the details of the conspiracy were known to him; the people of England, duped by the pretended Popish Plot, lost sight of the real danger. Several innocent victims were sacrificed to the popular delusion, and the king, who feared that an exposure of the fallacy might lead to a detection of his own guilty designs, encouraged the error. In a short time the tide of popular favour turned, and the Protestant leaders were left exposed to the vengeance of the court.

Holland was also a stronghold of the Protestant power; Louis XIV. declared war against the republic under the most frivolous pretences, and was joined by the unworthy Charles II. who sacrificed, for a pension, the faith of treaties, and the interests

of England. The Dutch were almost reduced to despair, when Providence furnished them with a guide and leader in the person of William, Prince of Orange. This was, in fact, a war for popery, to which the popes themselves were indifferent, or rather secretly hostile; the pontiffs had as much reason to dread the unmeasured ambition of Louis XIV. as any other European sovereigns, and therefore, when the papal nuncio came to take a share in the conferences at Nimeguen, he was treated with all possible respect by the magistrates of that eminently Protestant city.

Innocent XI., although he owed his election, in no small degree, to French influence, was far from favouring the projects of Louis; he made several efforts to restrain the royal prerogative in the conferring of benefices; and, at the same time, his efforts to destroy or curtail the liberties of the Gallican Church had nearly produced a schism in that country. The policy of Louis XIV. was dangerous to the independence of every European community, for he was guided by no principle but the extension of his power: he entered into alliance with the Ottoman Porte: he supported the Hungarian Protestants in their revolt against the emperor, and sanctioned the sultan's gift of that kingdom to Tekeli, on condition of his excluding the Jesuits; he published a declaration in his official gazette, describing the happiness which the Hungarians enjoyed under the government of Tekeli, dwelling

particularly on their full enjoyment of religious liberty, while he organized against the Protestants of France one of the most sanguinary persecutions which has ever disgraced the annals of humanity.

Louis XIV. was urged to revoke the Edict of Nantes by his mistress and his Jesuit confessor. He began by issuing an edict, authorising Huguenot children, above seven years of age, to change their religion without the consent of their parents; this pernicious law introduced dissension into the bosom of families: children were enticed to ingratitude and disobedience by the arts of clerical kidnappers who overspread the country. The parents were next persecuted: they were excluded from all public employments, and the incorporations of the trades. Bribes were offered on the one hand, punishments were menaced on the other; apostasy was assured of reward, and the payment of conversions became a heavy charge on the state. Finally, a brutal and licentious soldiery was let loose on the hapless Protestants; dragoons were sent as missionaries among them, and the Edict of Nantes, their last security, was formally revoked. Exposed to all the cruelties and horrors that bigotry could dictate, or brutality execute, the Huguenots abandoned their country, and carried into lands hostile to France their wealth, their commercial intelligence, their manufacturing industry, and their desire of vengeance. Though Innocent XI. is said, on good authority, to have secretly disapproved of these barbarities, he wrote

a congratulatory letter to the King of France for removing heresy from his dominions and ordered public rejoicings at Rome to celebrate the triumph of the faith.

Sweden, Spain, and Germany, terrified by the ambition of Louis, entered into a treaty for mutual protection. The Prince of Orange declared himself the enemy of the French King; the Emperor Leopold, whose capital had been rescued from the Turks by the prompt valour of John Sobieski, aware that his dangers arose from French intrigues, readily entered into the confederacy, and the Prince of Orange prepared to strike the first decisive blow, by hurling his father-in-law, James II., from the throne of England.

After the death of Charles II., his brother James ascended the throne; he openly proclaimed himself a member of the Romish Church, and went to mass, surrounded with all the ensigns of regal dignity. Innocent XI. was too prudent to approve of the king's precipitation; it was with difficulty he was persuaded to send a nuncio to London, and he received the English ambassador at Rome with great coolness and indifference. But James, entirely governed by the Jesuits, and urged forward by his queen, an Italian devotee, continued to alienate his subjects by open violations of the laws which had been enacted for the maintenance of the Protestant religion. Innocent hated the Jesuits, and he regarded James as their dupe; he suspected

the French monarch of dangerous designs, and he knew that the English sovereign was at the beck of Louis; his position was similar to that of Sixtus V. when Philip II. menaced European independence, and, like that able pontiff, he preferred the security of his states to aiding efforts for the revival of popery, a project which he, besides, regarded as visionary and hopeless. The imprisonment of seven bishops for refusing to read an illegal proclamation in their churches, brought the affairs of England to a crisis; the Prince of Orange, taking advantage of the general indignation, landed at Torbay; James, deserted by his nobles, his soldiers, and even his children, was driven into exile, and, after a feeble effort to maintain his interests in Ireland, soon sunk into insignificance.

Innocent XI. had secretly shared in forming the European league to check the power of France; his disputes with Louis would have led to open war but for his death, and the elevation of Alexander VIII., whose first efforts were directed to effecting a reconciliation with France. During his brief reign he exhausted the public treasury to enrich his family, and thus became very unpopular. The intelligence of his death produced general joy, which was greatly increased when it was known that Innocent XII. had been chosen his successor.

Innocent was a man of superior abilities; he early discovered the weak points in the character of Louis XIV., and intrigued so effectually with the

favourites of the vain monarch, that all the papal demands were granted; and the bishops who had maintained the independence of the Gallican Church were forced to make a public apology for their conduct. The pope next assailed the privileges of the emperor, and at one blow annihilated his jurisdiction within the Ecclesiastical State. Leopold, engaged in a hazardous war, did not venture to make any effective resistance, but submitted, though very reluctantly, to the usurpation.

A more fatal result of papal interference was displayed in Poland; Sobieski, having delivered Europe from the dangers of a Turkish invasion, became anxious to secure the future tranquillity of his own kingdom, by making the crown hereditary; the papal nuncio, secretly instigated by the ungrateful Emperor Leopold, opposed this beneficial arrangement, and thus the last kingdom in Northern Europe which adhered to the Romish See, was condemned to ruinous anarchy and final annihilation, to serve the temporary purposes of papal policy.

But Innocent was destined to receive a mortifying proof that popery had fallen from its high estate; as Head of the Church he professed an anxiety to terminate the effusion of Christian blood, and offered to mediate a peace between the King of France and the emperor. His interference was refused, but the treaty of Ryswick was soon after concluded under the auspices of Sweden.

The leisure which Louis thus obtained, he

employed in persecuting those whom he suspected of attachment to the Protestant faith, and in regulating the disputes which disturbed the tranquillity of the Gallican Church. A more dangerous project was to obtain the Spanish succession for his grandson, and in this he was efficiently supported by the pope, who wished to destroy the influence of Austria in Italy. The King of Spain was prevailed upon to bequeath his dominions to the French prince, and Philip V. soon proceeded to enter on his inheritance (A. D. 1701).

This event was the signal for a general war. The Austrian emperor prepared to assert the hereditary claims of his house; William III., feeble and dying, still roused England and Holland to combine against France, while the new pope, Clement XI., terrified by the appearance of a French army in Italy, knew not what course to adopt. During one of the most violent wars that ever convulsed Europe, the papacy was forced, by sheer weakness, to observe a suspicious neutrality, and this when a throne was at stake, over which the Holy See had once exercised a complete supremacy. The Jesuits, whose efforts to advance their order were not relaxed by the dangers and vicissitudes of war, obtained several edicts against the Jansenists from Louis XIV., but they began to be regarded with suspicion in most European countries, and a strong party was formed against them, even within the precincts of the Roman court. They obtained, indeed, from the pontiff, the

celebrated bull Unigenitus, in which the opinions of their adversaries were condemned; but this failed to terminate the dispute; the bull was opposed by the parliaments, and a great body of the French clergy: had France possessed an enlightened ruler, it is probable that the Gallican Church at that time might have asserted and established its independence.

Chapter XXII.

AGE OF LOUIS XV.

From A. D. 1715 to A. D. 1780.

During the long reign of Louis XIV., popery was declining rapidly, not merely from the effects of Protestant hostility, but from the increasing complication of political relations, and the rise of new interests wholly unconnected with the Church. The system of religion which the Bourbons laboured to establish was, in fact, Jesuitism rather than popery, and it was, therefore, very coldly regarded by those who successively occupied the chair of St. Peter. Throughout the whole of the period the popes showed more anxiety for the security of their Italian possessions, than for the general interests of their Church; and whenever they addressed a Congress of the European powers, they had the mortification to find their offers and remonstrances disregarded, and that they were degraded from the rank of sovereigns to that of petty princes. A remarkable change was manifest in the language of those who still advocated the claims of the Holy See; they began to conceal its high pretensions, to lower the high tone assumed by their predecessors, to preach the necessity of conciliation, and to point out the expediency of mutual concession. Plans of reform were

devised, projects for once again uniting the Christian churches into one community were formed; and Innocent XI. is said to have declared that the recovery of the Protestants would not be impossible, if once all parties would consent to open negotiations. It is scarcely credible that conferences, however honestly undertaken, and ably conducted, could have led to any desirable result; but the plots of the Jesuits, the ambition of the French court, the bigotry of Louis XIV., and the ignorant superstition of Madame Maintenon, the mistress who ruled over his mind with absolute sway, prevented any leader of the papal party from proposing a compromise which might have subjected him to the imputation of heresy. But the moderation shown by the Romish controversialists, their anxiety to gloss over obnoxious tenets, and their assumption of candour in sometimes bestowing a compliment on their opponents, fully proved that the influence of the Reformation continued to extend, and that its influence was felt even by the zealous servants of Rome.

In the long wars of this age the interests of religion were scarcely concerned; Louis and the Emperor Leopold, who were directly opposed to each other, were slavish adherents to the Church, though not to the See of Rome, and were both cruel persecutors of the Protestants in their respective dominions; popery could only be preserved by their strict union, but this was forbidden by their political

interests. It is true that, at the peace of Utrecht, the British negotiators successfully interfered in behalf of the French Protestants whom Louis detained in prison, but this was an act of spontaneous generosity: it was an honourable service to individuals, not connected with the assertion of any general principle, for they did not demand the re-enactment of the Edict of Nantes.

We have now arrived at a stage of our history when popery, instead of being the foremost consideration in the general policy of Europe, almost ceases to form any part of it; and when the popes, instead of dictating to kings and emperors, find their power gone, and their voices disregarded. From this time the Court of Rome began to act on a purely defensive system: its advocates began to explain away the obnoxious tenets which they dared not abandon, and the supremacy of the papacy was supported as a matter of expediency, rather than as a matter of right. At such a crisis the Jesuits became, for a brief season, the managers of the interests of the Romish Church; bound together by solemn obligations, preserving the strictest secresy in all their transactions, more perfectly organized than any association which had ever been instituted, unless, perhaps, we except the Asiatic order of the Assassins, the confederacy of the Jesuits might have shaken European society to its foundations, had not all parties been early roused to a sense of their danger. The chief prelates and ecclesiastics of the

Romish Church, the kings who still adhered to the Romish See, even the popes themselves, began to dread this ambitious body. It is not necessary now to speculate on the possibilities of a past century, but it is not improbable that the success of the Jesuits would have led to the establishment of a tyranny over conscience more galling and degrading than that of popery itself in its worst and most oppressive form.

The fear inspired by the intrigues of the Jesuits must be borne in mind, whenever the policy of the penal laws enacted against the Romanists in England, and other Protestant countries, at the beginning of the last century, is examined. When even Portugal, Spain, and France showed signs of alarm at the new form assumed by popery, it would, assuredly, be strange if Protestant powers neglected to take measures of precaution, or refused to see the approach of danger. Doctrines subversive of civil liberty, of legitimate government, and even of social order, were promulgated systematically and pertinaciously; they were so blended and confounded with other doctrines universally received by the Romish Church, that it was impossible to draw a line of separation; and Protestants were compelled, for their own security, to exclude Romanists from power altogether. It is utterly absurd to deny the existence of the danger, when it is now a notorious and acknowledged fact that the appointment to the Romish sees in the British dominions was given to

the exiled house of Stuart, and, consequently, that the Romish prelates and priests, for half a century, were not only disaffected to the House of Brunswick, but hired partisans of the Pretender.

The power of the Jesuits was counterbalanced by the rapid progress of civilization; and, under Providence, the advancement of knowledge became the instrument of destroying that formidable confederacy. Peter the Great raised Russia to the rank of a civilized state, and placed it foremost among the powers of Europe. He embraced the party of the Elector of Saxony in the contest for the kingdom of Poland, and found the pope and the Jesuits ranged on the same side, against a competitor of their own religion, Stanislaus Leczinski. This was, in itself, a singular proof that even among the most zealous supporters of the Holy See, political considerations were deemed of more importance than religious doctrines. It is said that when the Emperor Joseph was reproached by a papal nuncio for the concessions he had made to the Protestants at the demand of Charles XII., he replied, "It is well for you that the King of Sweden did not ask me to turn Lutheran myself: had he done so, I cannot tell what would have been the consequence." In these few words, the altered condition of popery was perfectly delineated: a monarch declared that its very existence should be made subservient to general policy; and the Vatican did not utter a reproach against a sen-

timent, which, a century before, would have called forth all the thunders of the Church.

England accomplished her high destiny of becoming the head and hope of Protestantism throughout Europe: its fortune was consolidated by the victories of Marlborough; its religious freedom assured by the exclusion of the Stuarts. Though Anne, at the close of her reign, wished to secure the succession for her brother, she made it a condition that he should embrace the Protestant religion. The Harley ministry, so often reproached for abandoning Protestant principles, concurred in the demand, but the obstinate bigotry of the son of James II. protracted the negotiations until the death of the queen, when the partisans of the House of Stuart were unprepared, and the Elector of Brunswick peaceably ascended the throne of Great Britain.

One great effort was made to establish the supremacy of the Spanish power in conjunction with popery; it was directed by Cardinal Alberoni, the prime-minister of Philip V. His plan was to re-conquer Sardinia and Sicily for Spain; to place James III. on the throne of England by the aid of the Russian Emperor and the King of Sweden; to prevent the interference of the Emperor, by engaging the Turks to assail his dominions. Pope Clement XI., a weak and stupid pontiff, could not comprehend the merits of Alberoni's schemes; he refused to pay the ecclesiastical subsidies to Philip V., and before the ambitious cardinal could further develop

his schemes, the Quadruple Alliance was formed by the alarmed potentates of Europe, and Philip V. was forced to dismiss his intriguing minister. The pope had the mortification to find that his interests were totally disregarded in the new arrangements made for preserving the tranquillity of Europe: his superiorities in Parma and Placentia formed part of the bribe tendered to the Court of Spain by the rulers of France and Germany; he remonstrated loudly, but, in spite of his efforts, they were accepted and retained.

On the death of Clement XI., Alberoni became a candidate for the papacy, and was very near being elected. Fortunately for the permanency of Romish power, this violent prelate was excluded from the chair of St. Peter, and Innocent XIII. was chosen. During his pontificate the society of Freemasons began to be regarded with suspicion by the heads of the Church, especially as several other secret associations were formed in Germany and Italy for the propagation of what were called philosophical tenets; but these doctrines were, in reality, not only hostile to popery, but subversive of all religion and morality.

Benedict XIII. was the next pontiff: he was a man of mild and benevolent temper, but wanting in firmness and talent. It was announced that he had formed some comprehensive scheme for uniting all Christian sects into one body; but if ever he devised such a project, he soon abandoned it as hopeless:

indeed, his conduct was very different from that of a person disposed to make sacrifices for the sake of peace; he renewed the canonization of Gregory VII., which was a wanton outrage against the advanced intelligence of the age, and he supported Cardinal Fleury in his persecution of the French Protestants.

France was about this time, to all appearance, fast escaping from the grasp of the Holy See. The progress of infidelity in the higher ranks, and especially among the professors of law and medicine, was very great; the clergy were divided by disputes respecting the bull Unigenitus, and common sense was insulted by the pretended miracles which an association of hypocrites and enthusiasts pretended to have been wrought in favour of the bull. But the firmness of the French parliaments triumphed over the power of the cardinals, and the arts of the miracle-mongers, and the liberties of the Gallican Church were steadfastly maintained.

Benedict died without having effected any of his pacific designs. He was succeeded by Clement XIII., who had already passed his eightieth year. The aged pontiff found himself placed in direct opposition to almost every king in Europe, but more especially to the monarchs of those countries which seemed most heavily weighed down by the yoke of Romish superstition. The King of Portugal refused to yield to the Holy See, even on points of etiquette; the King of Sardinia usurped ecclesiastical fiefs; Philip V. of Spain joined the Emperor in disposing

of Parma and Placentia; and the King of France threatened to seize the county of Avignon: even in Italy, the pope's power was threatened with annihilation, and the remonstrances of the pontiff addressed to the Venetian and Neapolitan governments were utterly disregarded.

The outcry against the Jesuits was daily becoming louder, and they seemed resolved to deserve the general hatred. Their machinations to subvert the government of Portugal were incessant; but, through the activity of the Marquis of Pombal, they were detected and defeated. At length they made an effort to murder the king, and very nearly succeeded. The Marchioness of Tavora, and several of the Portuguese nobility, were convicted of having joined in this regicidal plot, and capitally punished. They were declared innocent in a subsequent reign, but the proofs of their guilt appear to have been conclusive. Even before this event, the principal sovereigns who adhered to the Romish faith were anxious to have the order of the Jesuits destroyed: in Spain, they were especially the objects of royal suspicion. It was, indeed, almost come to a question, whether the pope should choose rather to preserve the order than his own dignity; for some preparations were made in Portugal to renounce all allegiance to the Holy See, and place the national church under the superintendence of a patriarch. At such a crisis great abilities, accompanied by great moderation, could alone save the pontificate, but the

aged tenant of St. Peter's chair possessed neither the one nor the other.

Clement XIII. was a pontiff of good intentions, but feeble and irresolute; in spite of the remonstrances of Cardinal Ganganelli, who always recommended conciliatory measures, a bull, named Apostolicum, was issued, confirming the Jesuits in all their privileges, and extravagantly eulogizing their zeal, their services, and their talents. This indiscreet act was followed by a denunciation of the monarchs who had usurped lands claimed by the Holy See. Clement declared that he, "like St. Thomas of Canterbury," was ready to suffer martyrdom rather than abandon the rights of the Church; but the declaration was received, first with astonishment, and then with derision, because everybody knew that no article of faith was in question and that it was for his temporalities that the holy father contended. Finally, however, being pressed hard by the houses of Bourbon and Braganza, he summoned a consistory to take into consideration the propriety of revoking these edicts, but vexation and anxiety hurried him to the grave before the assembling of the council.

On the 19th of May, 1769, Ganganelli, the most amiable and virtuous in the long list of pontiffs, was elected to the papacy, after a long and arduous contest; he took the title of Clement XIV., while his adversaries stigmatized him as the Protestant pope. In the early part of his reign, the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, the brothers of the

English monarch (George III.), visited Rome, and were treated with so much kindness, that the king, though a zealous adherent of our national church, wrote a letter of thanks to the pope with his own hand. But while he thus hospitably entertained princes, he showed an affectionate condescension to the meanest of the people, ever acknowledging that he was himself of humble descent. One of his guards rudely repulsing some meanly-clad persons who crowded to see the pontiff, Clement rebuked him, saying, "Let the poor men come near, their self-love is gratified by seeing one of their own rank elevated to so high a dignity." His adversaries reproached him for the readiness with which he granted dispensations to those who were weary of their monastic vows, but he defended himself by the plain, but convincing apology, that reluctant celibacy is notoriously the source of gross immorality.

But the great event of Ganganelli's honourable reign was the abolition of the order of the Jesuits; the bull, dissolving the society, was issued on the 21st of July, 1773, and was received with joy by nearly all the sovereigns of Europe. The papers found at the dissolution of the order were of little importance; but, as the Jesuits had long foreseen their fate, it is probable those which had any political tendency were destroyed, and the same cause will account for the disappearance of the vast wealth supposed to have been accumulated by the society. In a very few months after the edict of suppression

was issued, the pope's health began to decline; the friends of the Jesuits declared that this was the sign of divine vengeance: their enemies, with more probability, averred that poison had been given to the pontiff by some emissary of the order. He bore a lingering and painful illness with great fortitude, diligently attending to the affairs of government until his last hour. His death afflicted all his subjects, and he was sincerely regretted by all the European sovereigns, and perhaps most by those who differed from him in religion.

The brief reign of Clement XIV. raised the spiritual character of the papacy, but, in some degree, accelerated the decline of its temporal power. His entire career was a practical comment on his declaration that the principality of Rome was the great source of all the resistance to the pontifical power; for he won more influence by mildness and conciliation, than the most energetic of his predecessors by violence and excommunications. His abolition of the order of the Jesuits showed that he possessed no ordinary share of moral courage, for he knew that the emissaries of the society would soon take a deadly revenge: indeed, he declared to the Spanish ambassador, the Count de Florida Blanca, that he did not expect to survive his edict for their suppression.

The society of the Jesuits had existed for two hundred and thirty years at the time of its suppression. Its object was to exercise, under the pro-

tection of Rome, an active influence over the European courts, over the clergy, over private families, and over general literature. To the latter attention began to be paid, only when the increasing odium of the political intrigues in which the society engaged, showed the superiors that it would be advisable to court popularity by learned labours and scientific research. Thenceforward the order bestowed a large share of its attention on public education, and showed itself ambitious of being regarded as an efficient body of labourers for the advancement of learning. It would be ridiculous to deny that many of its members attained an eminent rank in various branches of literature; for though few, if any, occupy a first place, several hold an honourable position in the second class of writers. But it was precisely the influence which the Jesuits derived from their partial monopoly of instruction that rendered them most formidable to princes and to people; had they been able to mould the minds of a generation, they would have been able to attempt, with some prospect of success, a general revolution, which would have restored the papal supremacy to its former strength, and checked the progress of civilization, probably, for another century.

To their pernicious counsels the infamous partition of Poland must, in no small degree, be attributed. They roused the bigotry of the Polish nobles to resist the edicts of toleration by which the Dissidents were protected. These Dissidents comprised

members of the Greek, as well as the Lutheran Church, they sought protection from Russia, and thus afforded the Court of St. Petersburgh a plausible pretext for interference. When we lament the downfall of Poland, it is only justice to bear in mind that the confederation of Bar was formed rather to support intolerance, than to maintain the independence of their country. It is even probable that their patriotism would not have been unsuccessful, had it not been accompanied by such ferocious bigotry.

Chapter XXIII.

POPERY DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

From A. D. 1780 to A. D. 1830.

We have seen the low ebb to which the temporal power of the popes was reduced during the early part of the seventeenth century,—we must now cast a glance at the dangers that menaced its spiritual sway. Unimproved by the Reformation, deducing no warning from an event which had severed the north of Europe for ever from its sway, the court of Rome adhered to all its absurd claims and offensive usages; even when some of the pontiffs, more enlightened than their ministers, were anxious to conciliate advancing intelligence. But popery had acquired an organization which made it independent of the popes; they were quite as much slaves to the system as the ignorant multitude. This is necessarily the case with every successful imposture; but it was more especially so in a system which had endured for several centuries, and all of whose parts harmonized so completely with each other. Giving such pontiffs as Clement XIV. every credit for good intentions, we find popery in their reigns just as injurious to mankind in general, and just as dangerous to rulers, as when the chair of St. Peter was occupied by a Gregory or an Innocent.

Unfortunately the imposture was blended with the great truths of Christianity; and those who assailed the former, were hurried into attacks on the latter. Popery deservedly bears the blame of the flood of infidelity which inundated France, and threatened to deluge Europe; for in England, where Deism first began, the pure doctrines of Christianity obtained an easy though a signal triumph. Hobbes, Lords Bolingbroke and Shaftesbury, Tindal, Collins, and others of inferior note, assailed revealed religion, but the Protestant defenders of Christianity neutralized their poison, and evangelical faith only struck deeper root in the hearts of Englishmen in consequence of these assaults.

But it was far different in France, when Voltaire, Diderot, and D'Alembert, began to propagate their pernicious doctrines; they deceived themselves and their readers by confounding the abuses with the principles of Christianity; unfortunately the abuses introduced by popery were so glaring that they could not be mistaken, while study and reflection were necessary to detect the purity of the faith which lay buried beneath them. Infidelity spread rapidly in France, unopposed and almost unnoticed by the clergy, while the exertions of some bigots to enforce the observance of the bull Unigenitus, contributed to render the ecclesiastical body deservedly unpopular.

After a delay of five months, Cardinal Braschi obtained the suffrages of the sacred college, and was

chosen pontiff, under the appellation of Pius VI. He found himself in a very difficult position; a body of zealots demanded the restoration of the Jesuits, and the assertion of all the extravagant claims of the Holy See; the ambassadors of France and Spain menaced him with the wrath of their respective courts, if he should give ear to such perilous counsels. Pius acted with duplicity towards both, and was therefore an object of their common suspicion. The Emperor Joseph, and his brother, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, attempted to introduce ecclesiastical reforms into their states, but were opposed by the papal party with uncompromising energy.

Pius was much displeased by the innovations, but he had not sufficient energy to resist them. Possessing no qualifications for his exalted station but an imposing demeanour, and a fluency which passed for eloquence, his vanity led him to believe that he could by diplomatic skill establish a supremacy over sovereigns. But while he aspired to regulate the affairs of Europe, he was incapable of governing his own dominions.

While he oppressed his subjects with heavy taxes, he squandered his finances in pensions to his relations. Enraged at the attacks made by the emperor on his dignity, he resolved to undertake a personal journey to Vienna, hoping that his remonstrances would restrain the imperial zeal for reform. Joseph had prohibited every application to Rome for

dispensations, he had granted to the bishops exclusive authority over the monasteries in their respective dioceses, and had subjected the prelates themselves to the imperial authority. Pius saw that such a system must lead eventually to the subversion of the papal power, but he could not discover any better means of averting the danger than by presenting himself uninvited to the emperor (A. D. 1782). The journey, as might have been expected, proved wholly fruitless; Pius was received at Vienna with every outward mark of respect, but Joseph was so far from laying aside his projects of reform, that he assumed the title of "supreme guardian of the Church, and administrator of its temporalities."

The progress of ecclesiastical reform was fatally interrupted by the French revolution. This portentous event alarmed all the European sovereigns, and inspired a dread of innovation which rendered even improvement odious. Its causes need not be enumerated here; suffice it to say, that during the reign of Louis XV. the court of France was corrupt and profligate, the nobles servile to the crown and tyrannical to the people, the clergy divided into factions, oscillating between the extremes of fanaticism and indifference; the great body of the nation hostile to its rulers, and eager for change. At such a crisis Louis XVI. ascended the throne, animated by the best intentions, but destitute of the means of putting them into execution. He was induced by his ministers to aid the American insurgents in their

struggle against Great Britain; the war deprived England of its colonies, but it completed the ruin of the French finances; and the soldiers of France, on their return from America, brought with them a zealous love of liberty, the more dangerous because its object was indefinite. Every history of Europe details the rapid and ruinous progress of the innovating spirit in France; we must confine our attention to its attacks on the Romish Church.

The deficiency in the finances was made a pretext for a minute inquiry into the expenses of the State and the Church. Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, commencing a long career of repeated apostasies by deserting the principles of the Church to which he belonged, proposed that the revenues of the ecclesiastics should be applied to cover the deficiency in the national funds. This appropriation was as unnecessary as it was unjust; for the clergy, through the Archbishop of Aix, offered to raise a sum sufficient for the wants of the State (A. D. 1789); but the real object of the law was to place the ecclesiastical constitution of the country at the mercy of the Constituent Assembly. This body assumed the right of changing, at its own pleasure, diocesan boundaries, episcopal sees, the forms of canonical election, priestly functions, the relations of the clergy to their own body and to Rome, and even the validity of monastic vows.

This was an attack, not merely on popery, but on the establishment of a Christian Church. The

bishops refused to acquiesce in such an arrangement, and they thus provoked the relentless fury of the Jacobins. Pius VI. had checked and even prevented the equitable reforms of the Emperor Leopold, and his brother the Grand Duke of Tuscany, by rousing popular fanaticism; he hoped by similar means to baffle the projects of the Constituent Assembly, but his councillors were not aware of the weak hold which the Romish Church had on the affections of the French people.

The honourable refusal of all the bishops but four to take an oath to support the new constitution of the Church, was answered by a monstrous decree of the legislative assembly, abolishing the state religion, depriving all ecclesiastics of their revenues who did not give in their adhesion within eight days, and ordering the recusants to be imprisoned. Under the pretence of tumults at Avignon, the whole Venaissin territory, in spite of the pope's legitimate claims, was formally annexed to the realms of France, and the remonstrances against such a glaring act of injustice were unheeded (A. D. 1791). With strange inconsistency, the Assembly at the same time proclaimed absolute freedom of religious opinion, while it displayed intolerance rivalling that of the Inquisition.

The National Convention, victorious abroad and sanguinary at home, ruled by the bayonet and the guillotine; ecclesiastics, though special objects of persecution, had so many companions in suffering,

that their martyrdom was forgotten in the general slaughter. Multitudes escaped into foreign lands; and it deserves to be remarked, that these clerical emigrants were more kindly received and more hospitably treated in Protestant countries, than in those which adhered to the Romish faith. England nobly laid aside its hereditary jealousy of popery to succour those who were in some degree regarded as sufferers in the cause of common Christianity. It must be added, that the conduct of too many of these exiles, when they returned to their own country, proved that their gratitude for Protestant liberality was a very transitory feeling.

During this stormy period the conduct of Pius VI. appears perfectly inexplicable; he contested the right of investiture to the sees in the kingdom of Naples, and persevered in his demands until he was menaced with actual hostilities. When compelled to make reluctant concessions, he continued to intrigue secretly against the reigning monarch, until the approach of the French made him tremble for his personal safety. Towards his own subjects, the pontiff continued the system of vexatious exactions with which he had commenced his reign, so that when the tide of war overtopped the Alps, and flowed downwards through Italy, a large party in the Roman states was prepared to support the invaders.

Alarmed by the rapid progress of Napoleon, Pius hasted to conclude the treaty of Tolentino, by which

he ceded to the French the finest districts of the Patrimony of St. Peter, and promised to pay an immense sum as a ransom for the remainder. A division of the French army being left to enforce the execution of this treaty, inflicted several outrages on the unfortunate Romans; but even the cruelties of the invaders were not more severe than the oppressions of the papal officers, for the misgovernment of Pius increased amidst the perils of foreign hostility.

The discontents of the populace were secretly fomented by Joseph Buonaparte, who had been sent to Rome as ambassador from the French republic. Cardinal Chiaramonte, who afterwards became pope, published a homily in favour of democratic government, and plots were formed for depriving the pope of all his power. A mob assembled within the precincts of the French ambassador's palace; cockades, arms, and ammunition, were supplied by the embassy; the insurgents attempted to seize an important post, they were routed, and in the confusion a French general, who was a spectator of the conflict, was killed by the papal guards.

This unfortunate event afforded a pretext to the French for occupying Rome; the castle of St. Angelo and the gates of the city were seized, while Pius took no measure for defence, but parading relics and reciting masses. While he was engaged in solemnizing the anniversary of his accession, two French officers entered the chapel where he was

enthroned, and announced that his reign was at an end. The cardinals were deprived of their power and possessions, and were compelled to offer public thanksgivings for the success of a revolution by which they were ruined and degraded.

While Napoleon was absent in Egypt, Cardinal Ruffo raised an insurrection in Calabria to restore the legitimate sovereign of Naples, and the ascendency of the established faith. But at this juncture of danger, Romish fanaticism manifested its sanguinary character; the insurgents of Arezzo, after having received the benedictions of Cardinal Zondadari, publicly burned sixteen Jews, and, not satisfied with such an atrocity, threw several of their children into the blazing pile.

Pius VI. died a prisoner at Valencia (A. D. 1799), but several months intervened before the cardinals ventured to appoint his successor. Their choice fell on Cardinal Chiaramonte, who took the title of Pius VII. Less obstinate than his predecessor, he arranged a Concordat for the government of the Gallican Church with Napoleon, and had the gratification to see Christianity re-established in France. But the claims of the papacy, though antiquated, were not abandoned; intrigues against Napoleon were conducted by several French and Italian ecclesiastics, whose zeal surpassed that of their spiritual head; and, after seven years of mutual jealousies and recriminations, the struggle between the papacy and the French empire was forced to a premature decision.

Napoleon issued a decree, abolishing completely the temporal power of the popes; on the 2nd of February, 1808, a French army entered Rome, the pontiff's body-guards were dismissed, the Neapolitan cardinals expelled, and the duchy of Urbino and March of Ancona formally annexed to the kingdom of Italy.

Though virtually a prisoner, Pius VII. retained the pride of station which had distinguished his predecessors. In the September of 1808 he prepared to fulminate a bull of excommunication against the French, but, from various causes, its publication was delayed to the 10th of June in the following year. But the pontiff, while thus affecting to wield weapons which had proved so formidable in past ages, was obliged to give a convincing proof of his weakness, by directing that the persons who posted up copies of the edict about the city should do so as secretly as possible, lest they might be seized and shot. On the evening of the 6th of July the pope's palace was invested by the French troops, the gates forced, the pontiff himself arrested, and sent as a prisoner to France. He remained under ward until the 19th of January, 1813, when Napoleon and his empress arriving unexpectedly at Fontainebleau, had an interview with the pope, which ended in an accommodation between the two potentates. During this interval it is surprising that Buonaparte took no effective measures to establish a reformed ecclesiastical system; Pius would gladly have resigned tem-

poral power, and the cardinals, once forced to assume their functions in the new organization, would have been unable to recover their former state. But the emperor's uncle, Cardinal Fesch, strenuously exerted himself to prevent such an arrangement, and Napoleon himself believed that it would be impossible ever again to revive the papal power. With this mistaken belief, he commenced his fatal Russian expedition; but scarcely had he departed, when the cardinals persuaded Pius VII. that his abdication of temporal power was a sinful abandonment of the rights of the Church which had been entrusted to his charge. The pope wrote a letter, retracting the concessions he had made in the second Concordat; Napoleon waited for victory before sending a reply, but victory had now for ever abandoned his standard, and the pope, sharing in the general emancipation of Europe, quitted France in the beginning of 1814, and re-established his sovereignty at Rome.

Since that period a change has been wrought in the entire system of popery: it has become an ecclesiastical commonwealth instead of a despotism, and, to use a phrase attributed to Cardinal Gonsalvi, "many prelates and priests are better papists than the pope." But this change has not rendered popery less injurious or less formidable; the claims to temporal power have been abandoned, only that those to spiritual despotism should be urged with greater strength; the restored order of the Jesuits has renewed its efforts to acquire a secret moral in-

fluence, by which it may be enabled to assume the direction of public affairs. Warned by former failures, the advocates of the papacy venture not to appeal to brute force: their rule now is, to join every popular cry, and mix up their cause with any scheme that pleases the giddy multitude; while they clamour for the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal, they advocate the voluntary system in England and Ireland,—while they maintain the utmost rigours of intolerance in South America, they preach the wildest freedom of opinion in the northern states. In every country they are perseveringly at work, for they feel that they are struggling for existence; it must be added, that their efforts have not been wholly unsuccessful.

Those who tell us that popery is not to be feared, because the successors of Pius VII. have taken no share in the general policy of Europe, because Leo XII., Pius VIII., and the reigning pontiff, Gregory XVI., rank among the sovereigns about whose existence the world is very careless, are either ignorant of the actual state of affairs, or wilfully blind to danger. Popery has not ceased to be a political system, because the popes are destitute of political power; it is still designed to secure all influence for the hierarchy, to make the Romish Church supreme, and its ministers the masters of all human destinies. If anything is effected by this change, it is greater danger to Protestantism, because every agent of Rome is personally interested in his success: he now

works for himself and his order, not for the interests of a single master. The nature of the struggle is altered, and those who defend the reformed religion must, therefore, change their weapons of controversy.

Of the final issue there can be no doubt, for light is penetrating everywhere, in spite of opposition. We have traced the growth of this great imposture,—we have seen it commence with the exaltation of the hierarchy, and then concentrate their power in a single visible head. The despotism, complete in all its parts, triumphed for a season, trampling alike on the rights of kings and the independence of nations: but we have seen it gradually fall before advancing intelligence, until the supremacy of the pope personally has become an empty name, and the system has been resolved into its original elements, the maintenance of the priesthood and prelacy in power over the minds and consciences of the people. The efforts of the Romanists, now more vigorous than ever, are among the clearest proofs of their sinking cause; it is just when death approaches that the convulsive energies of the human frame are most powerfully stimulated, but what ignorant spectators regard as symptoms of recovery, are known to the physician as certain signs of approaching dissolution.

Chapter XXIV.

HISTORY OF THE JESUITS.

Immediately after the overthrow of Napoleon, a vigorous effort was made to restore the ancient influence of the Romish Church throughout Europe; and, as a necessary preliminary, Pope Pius VIII., on the 7th of August, 1814, published a bull for reviving the Order of the Jesuits. We have already shown that Jesuitism was a system emanating from the necessities of the papacy after the Reformation, which soon acquired an independent existence, and became formidable to the popes themselves. The abolition of the order, had, however, greatly weakened Romanism; and though Pius was aware that the Jesuits might again become formidable to the constituted authorities of his Church, he trusted that gratitude to the Supreme Pontiff would bind them to his interests. The time was peculiarly favourable for such an attempt; the Bourbon princes restored to the thrones of France, Spain, and Naples attributed all their former calamities to the progress of liberal or infidel principles, and desired to see Romanism restored to its former strength and splendour; the Jesuits promised that they would secure supremacy for the pope, authority for the kings, and security for the

Church; Pius believed the consummation possible, and his bull was issued with more than ordinary solemnity.

We have already observed, that the alliance of the Jesuits seems to have been fatal to every cause which they espoused; this has been apparent since the order was revived; the papal supremacy over the continental churches is less now than it was at any former period; the elder branch of the Bourbons is exiled from France; Spain and Portugal have exchanged despotic for constitutional governments, and the delusive tranquillity of Italy is only maintained by Austrian bayonets. It must, on the other hand, be confessed that the Jesuits have successfully exerted themselves to maintain and extend the doctrines of Romanism, but their success is owing to their having disguised or denied the political tenets of popery; the important question, therefore, which presents itself for consideration is, whether they will be enabled to follow out Romanism into popery, a result to which Romanism necessarily tends, or whether such an effort will not rouse a spirit of resistance, which Jesuitism will be unable to struggle against. The solution of this question will be greatly facilitated by a consideration of some events in the past history of Jesuitism, which could not be brought before the reader in the preceding pages, without deranging the order of the history.

From the very foundation of the order, the

Jesuits were viewed with jealousy and suspicion by an influential body of prelates, priests, and monastics; they felt that some external aid was requisite to maintain them in Europe, and they hoped to acquire a preponderance, by monopolizing the missions to Asia, Africa, and America. Unlike every other ecclesiastical body, the Jesuits were permitted to act as a great trading corporation, and they hoped to derive from the monopoly of missions the wealth of commerce, the power of sovereignty, and the fame of conversion. Pope Gregory XIII. actually issued a bull, that "no priest, or other of the religious, except those of the Society of Jesus, should, without the express permission of the Holy See, go to Japan, either to preach the Gospel, or to teach the doctrines of Christianity, to administer the Sacraments, or to exercise any ecclesiastical function whatever." It was further ordained, that the brief should be read and published every where that the Jesuits considered it necessary.

The missionary establishments of the Jesuits were designed to establish the supremacy of their order, rather than to propagate Christianity, for they persecuted the missionaries of every other class who laboured to convert the Heathen. The secretary of the congregation established upon the subject of the Vicars Apostolic in China, makes the following statement, in a memorial addressed to that congregation, December 6th, 1667:—"Your Excellencies will have learned, from statements and

letters transmitted by confidential hands, and from the last accounts on the subject, of which you have already received a copy, that the Jesuit persecution of the Vicars Apostolic and their missionaries still continues, and that the Jesuits have never ceased to obstruct the mission in the kingdoms of Tonquin, Cochin China, Amboyna, and Siam,—in a word, every place where those fathers resided." The memorial traces this persecution to three political motives. "The first is, that the Jesuits will endure neither superior nor equal wherever they may be, and that their privileges were useless to them when the Apostolic Vicars arrived; the second, a desire to conceal from Europe their proceedings in those countries: above all, the commerce which they have carried on, and wish to continue; and the third, a resolution to prevent the ordination of native priests, that they might always remain at the head of those churches."

It would be impossible, in our limited space, to enter on a full history of the Jesuit missions, but there are three whose great importance merits our attention: these are Paraguay, Japan, and China. It was about the commencement of the seventeenth century that the Jesuits first established themselves in Paraguay, one of the most fertile countries in South America. They found the inhabitants strangers to the arts of social life, deriving a precarious subsistence from hunting and fishing, and hardly acquainted with the first principles of government.

The Jesuits instructed and civilized these savages. They taught them to cultivate the ground, domesticate animals, live in villages, and to appreciate the blessings of order and tranquillity. But this meritorious conduct was designed to establish the independent sway of the society: they instilled into the minds of the natives a jealous hatred of the Spanish and Portuguese settlers, which has not yet been effaced; and they prohibited private traders from entering the territories under their jurisdiction. They would not permit the Indians to learn the Spanish or Portuguese languages, but selected one of the South American dialects, which they laboured to make the universal language throughout their dominions. They even levied armies, taught their subjects the use of fire-arms, formed them into regiments of cavalry and infantry, provided a regular train of artillery, and magazines well stored with all the munitions of war.

It was long believed by some sentimental people, that the Jesuits took all these precautions that they might protect the innocent Indians from the contagion of European vices, and it was the fashion to represent Paraguay as a paradise of Arcadian simplicity; indeed, this amiable delusion is not unfrequently repeated by writers of modern times; but the truth was manifested when the Kings of Spain and Portugal resumed their authority over these districts.

The Indians were instructed up to the point where

they became valuable slaves, and there their education terminated. They were held in a state of degrading thraldom; not the less oppressive because it was supported by moral influences rather than physical force, and all the profits of their toil, beyond what was necessary to support existence, went to swell the treasury of their task-masters.

When the Jesuits were expelled in 1760, the evil influence of their instructions was fatally manifested; the jealous hatred of the Europeans which they had sedulously inculcated, led the Indians to refuse allegiance to the King of Portugal, and they were not reduced until a destructive war had swept away half of the population of the country. The exclusive principles of the Jesuits are still maintained in Paraguay, and all intercourse between that rich territory and the surrounding districts is strictly prohibited.

Before entering on the history of the Japanese Missions, we must say a few words on that of India, where first the close connexion between the Jesuits and the Inquisition was established. Xavier, who has been sometimes called the Apostle of the Indies, established the Inquisition at Goa; in pursuance of the principle stated by Gernon, in his apology for his order: "Inasmuch as from the nature of their institute, and their fourth vow, it belongs to the Jesuits to exercise the office and function of inquisitors, in countries where no Inquisition is established." The Jesuits had not long to wait for the

organization of the tribunal at Goa, it soon became the scourge of the Portuguese dominions in the East, and its horrors have been established by incontrovertible testimony.

Christianity was first introduced into Japan by Xavier (A. D. 1549); we have already seen how carefully the Jesuits laboured to retain exclusive possession of this mission, for they hoped that it might become as profitable to them as Paraguay. Unfortunately they began their political intrigues before they had a sufficient number of converts, and manifested an intolerant spirit, which provoked the animosity of princes and people.

It is difficult to ascertain the true nature of the circumstances which suddenly induced the Japanese rulers to persecute the Christian converts, after they had given great encouragement to the missionaries; the Jesuits themselves attribute it to jealousy of European superiority, and a suspicious dread of Spanish ambition. Two fierce persecutions annihilated the infant church. In the first, A. D. 1590, twenty thousand Christians were massacred; and in 1638, thirty-seven thousand more shared the same fate. Since that time the very name of Christianity is detested by the Japanese of all classes; and those who profess it are carefully excluded from their harbours, with the exception of a single port, to which the Dutch alone are permitted to trade.

Many efforts were made to introduce Christianity into China before the task was undertaken by the

Jesuits. The most celebrated among the early missionaries of that order were Ruggiero and Ricci; they entered the country in the disguise of Buddhist priests, and won the respect of the Chinese by their skill in various branches of science. After many disappointments Ricci penetrated to Pekin (A. D. 1601), and made several converts, several of whom were persons of high distinction. Candida, the daughter of Leu, a cabinet minister, was a zealous adherent to the new doctrines; she built several churches, and educated in the Christian faith the helpless babes who had been exposed by their cruel parents.

After Ricci's death a fierce persecution was raised against the Christians (A. D. 1615), the missionaries were either banished to Canton, or forced to conceal themselves in the houses of their converts. But they recovered their lost favour by offering to support the Chinese government against the invasion of the Mantchoo Tartars, proposing to send auxiliaries and gunners from Macao, to direct the imperial artillery, and instruct the Chinese in European tactics.

Adam Schaal, a German Jesuit, gained even greater influence over the first Tartar emperor, than Ricci had enjoyed under the preceding dynasty. But after the accession of Kang-he the fire of persecution, nourished by jealousy and national antipathy, raged very furiously (A. D. 1664). The missionaries had to suffer cruel mockings and imprisonments;

some sealed their faith with their blood; others were sent to Canton. Seven years afterwards the persecution so far abated, that the Jesuits were allowed to return to their churches.

Verbiest, the head of the mission, won the emperor's confidence, by giving the Chinese instruction in the art of cannon-founding, and gained such an ascendency, that he procured permission for the establishment of all the missions which might be required. But Verbiest gave the fatal example of mingling religion with political intrigues, and seeking to extend the faith by means of questionable purity. A greater error of the Jesuit missionaries was their resting satisfied with nominal conversions; of the thousands who were baptized, very few, indeed, were thoroughly instructed in Christian truth, and still fewer had learned to feel its influence over the heart and the affections. But worse remains to be told; Ricci had carried the principle of accommodation to a criminal length; in order to conciliate the Chinese, he joined in the praises of the Confucian system, and tolerated several of its idolatrous practices; he permitted his servants to worship their ancestors, and had no objection that the men of letters, who became Christians, should continue to perform the customary prostrations in honour of their patron sage, Confucius.

Longobardi, the successor of Ricci, was less compliant; he strictly prohibited all idolatrous rites, and this produced such a schism that it was necessary to

refer the decision of the matter to Rome. After long debates, and inconsistent decisions, the papal court finally decided against permitting the use of the idolatrous rites; but the Jesuits refused to obey the bull, and they procured an edict from the emperor, requiring every missionary who entered the empire to promise that he would preach the same doctrines which Ricci had taught, and that he would never leave China. But the power of the Jesuits had now become alarming to the Chinese authorities; they had acquired a complete mastery over the minds of their converts, and they frequently exercised this authority to control and direct civil affairs.

Edicts were frequently issued to restrain the promulgation of Christianity, and the princes in whom the Jesuits trusted for protection, abandoned them in the hour of trial. The Emperor Keen Lung proved a bitter persecutor, and under his direction the Chinese magistrates began to accuse and punish Christians with all the ferocity of inquisitors (A. D. 1746); the numbers of the Christians rapidly decreased; some were martyred, many apostatized; and even those who adhered to the faith, deemed it necessary to make a public profession of idolatry.

The abolition of the order of Jesuits was a fatal blow to the Romish Church in China; they had served as painters, mathematicians, and mechanics, at court, and had won the respect and confidence of the grandees by their superior intelligence. They

were removed from the sphere of their labours just when their intrigues had excited jealousy, without producing any advantage to their cause. Though there are still Romish missions in China, their churches continue to decline, and those who profess the faith, continue to be objects of suspicion to the government.

In all their missionary establishments the Jesuits were remarkable for their hostility to episcopal authority; and in Europe they showed an earnest anxiety to withdraw their votaries from obedience to the constituted authorities of the Church. Jesuitism was in alliance with popery, but the amity of the parties was frequently interrupted, and before Clement XIV. issued his edict for the suppression of the order, several of the popes had regarded it with hostility. The edict of Pius, by which the Jesuits were restored, was far from meeting universal approbation in the Romish Church; several cardinals and bishops vainly interfered to prevent its publication, and in general the continental clergy view the order with great jealousy.

Since the bull of restoration was issued, the Jesuits have carefully abstained from taking such a prominent part in public affairs, as would attract attention to their order. They have principally directed their attention to the establishment of seminaries; they have founded two schools in Great Britain, one at Mount Browne, and one at Stonyhurst, both of which are flourishing establishments.

In France they have completely failed in their projects for obtaining the chief direction of education, and they have been equally unsuccessful in their efforts to obtain the direction of missions. They are, however, zealously labouring for the revival of popery, and from all the authentic information we have been able to obtain, we think that their efforts have not been wholly without success. At the same time, it must be added, that the Jesuits are contented with a mere nominal conformity, and that their converts in Europe, as in China, are only asked to give their adhesion to the Romish Church, as if it was merely a form of government. Various anecdotes have been related of the means used to procure such acquiescence; we have reason to believe that the following deserves implicit credit.

About twelve years ago, the Duke and Duchess of Anhalt Cöthen were induced to join the Romish Church, and they set to work most vigorously on converting the court, which very dutifully yielded to the strong arguments of the sovereign, except one maid of honour, who adhered most resolutely to the Protestant principles. After some time, a young gentleman arrived from Vienna at Anhalt Cöthen, to make some stay there, and he pertinaciously exerted himself to win the young lady's affections; he succeeded, but when marriage was spoken of, he declared that he was a Roman Catholic, he could not in conscience unite himself to a heretic. After many struggles, the unfortunate young lady, against her

conscientious convictions, consented to conform to the Romish Church, but her scruples were still so strong that she fainted, both in making her recantation, and at the first procession she was compelled to attend. When all was over, the lover came to congratulate her on her having been reconciled to the ancient church, and to assure her that he had paid his addresses to her for the good of her soul, marriage being out of the question, as he was both a priest and a jesuit; a fact of which he convinced her, by taking off a smart wig he wore, and showing the tonsure.

But within the last three years the progress of the Jesuits in Germany has received a severe check; many of the Protestants who were perverted have returned to their ancient faith, and within the Romish Church several efforts have been made to reform ecclesiastical discipline, and to secure the independence of national establishments. Indeed, the most vigorous opponents of the Jesuits on the continent are the Romish prelates; they dread a return to the yoke of Rome, and they dread still more the supremacy of the dangerous order. There have been some efforts made to extend Romanism, that is, a modification of popery, in England, but all the arts of the Romish emissaries have failed to make any definite impression in this island. They have, however, been more successfully employed in Ireland, as we shall show in the next chapter.

It must, however, be remarked here, that popery

exists more perfectly in the British islands than in any other portion of Europe. Warned by their defeat in the struggle with the Austrian emperors, the popes have resigned the nomination of bishops, &c., to the continental sovereigns, both Catholic and Protestant. But in England the Romish Church has no legal establishment, and all correspondence between the British government and the Holy See is strictly prohibited by law. The pope, therefore, appoints the Romish bishops of Ireland, and the vicars apostolic in this country; and thus arises the singular anomaly, that the pope's power is greatest in the most Protestant kingdom of Christendom.

Chapter XXV.

SURVEY OF THE CONDITION OF THE CHURCH OF ROME IN IRELAND.

Previous to the English invasion, the Irish enjoyed the advantage of a national church, which the Roman pontiffs were anxious to bring under their sway; they were unable to effect this object until Henry II. had established his sovereignty. The monarchs of the Plantagenet line, conscious that they held Ireland by virtue of a papal grant, eagerly exerted themselves to procure a general acknowledgement of the papal authority as a foundation for their own power, and they were zealously seconded by the Irish bishops, who ranked as princes in the Romish hierarchy, but who, in their national church, were merely spiritual overseers. From these circumstances, popery was completely predominant in Ireland, just when the Reformation began to dawn in England, and it was upheld by the whole power of the Crown, the hierarchy, and the aristocracy: the bulk of the nation, completely immersed in ignorance, had no opinions but such as were dictated by its leaders. When Henry VIII. asserted the independence of the English Church, he found the Irish nobles ready to second his efforts; they exe-

cuted indentures, in which they pledged themselves to support the royal authority, both in church and state. As these deeds are of considerable importance, we shall insert a copy of one, extracted from the Council-book at Dublin Castle.

"This Indenture, made on the 26th day of September, in the 34th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Henry Eighth, between the Right Honourable Anthony St. Leger, deputy of our Lord the King, on the one part, and the Lord Barry, *alias* Barrymore, or the Great Barry; Mac Carty More; the Lord Roche; Mac Carty Reagh; Thaddeus M'Cormick, Lord of Muskerry; Barry Oge, *alias* the Young Barry; O'Sullivan Beare, captain of his nation; Donald O'Sullivan, first of his house; Barry Roe, *alias* the Red Barry; Mac Donough of Allow, first of his nation; Donald O'Callaghan, head of his house; and Gerald Fitz John, knight, on the other part:—doth witness that the said Lord Barry, &c., do agree, consent, and engage, jointly and separately, for themselves, their heirs, successors, assigns, tenants, and followers, that they will hold and perform all and singular articles, pledges, and conditions which are contained, on their parts, in said indenture.

"*Imprimis.*—They, and each of them, do and doth acknowledge the King's Majesty aforesaid to be their natural and liege lord; and will honour, obey, and serve him, and the kings his successors, against all creatures of the universe. And they will accept

and hold his said Majesty, and his successors, as the supreme head on earth, immediately under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland; and they will obey or serve his lieutenant or deputy, in this kingdom of Ireland, in all things concerning the service of his said Majesty, or of the kings his successors. And as far as lieth in their power, jointly or separately, they will annihilate the usurped primacy and authority of the Bishop of Rome, and will expel and eradicate all his favourers, abettors, and partisans; and will maintain, support, and defend, all persons, spiritual and temporal, who shall be promoted to church benefices or dignities by the King's Majesty, or other rightful patron; and will apprehend, and bring to justice, to be tried according to the laws made, or to be made, in such behalf, all who apply for provision to the Bishop of Rome, or betake themselves to Rome for promotion, &c."

These great feudatories imagined that the power which they thus wrested from the prelacy would fall into their hands; but it was one great object of the Tudor policy to break down the excessive power of the aristocracy. The nobles soon cooled in their attachment to the Reformation, when they found that the new policy would be injurious to their interests, and they were thus alienated from the crown at the moment when their aid in effecting a great change was absolutely necessary. In this entire transaction the body of the people took no share; while the sovereign and the chiefs were arranging

preliminaries, the masses were abandoned to the priests, in whose hands they have continued ever since.

In this struggle between the power of the sovereign and that of the nobles, religion was soon forgotten; and hence, when Bloody Mary ascended the English throne, the Protestants of Ireland remained safe from persecution. Mary could not venture to destroy the only firm adherents to the English crown in the island; and the Irish aristocracy, reckless of theological opinions, looked with favour on a party joined with them in opposition to the despotic will of the sovereign.

Elizabeth made the fatal error of urging forward ecclesiastical and civil reform at the same moment, by which she doubled and consolidated opposition. The reigning pope, Gregory XIII., saw the error, and availed himself of it; he instigated the Desmond family to raise the standard of revolt, and dreamed of obtaining the kingdom of Ireland for his natural son. When this noble house fell in the struggle, the O'Neills were induced to take up arms "in maintenance of liberty and the Catholic faith;" but O'Neill's ambition disgusted the Anglo-Irish, or, as they were called, the Catholic Lords of the Pale, the Romish councils were divided, and Elizabeth's generals profited by the quarrels of their adversaries to re-establish the authority of their sovereign.

In the reign of James I., the forfeiture of the estates belonging to the Ulster Irish opened the way

for the establishment of a Protestant colony in the northern provinces; but, at the same time, it greatly increased the hostility of the native Irish to the Reformation. It was held, that the forfeiture of the superior lord included that of all who were his vassals or tenants, and in consequence the Scotch colonists made no scruple in driving them from the lands, which the king divided among the new colonies. Anxiety to extend the royal authority led to a severe inquisition into titles in the reigns of James and Charles; dread of losing their estates led the Lords of the Pale to join the Ulster Irish in the great rebellion of 1641; a repetition of former disunions enabled Cromwell to triumph over both, and also over the Protestant Royalists, though his forces were inferior to any of the three parties.

At the restoration, the Act of Settlement confirmed the grants of land which Cromwell had made, by right of conquest,—the bulk of the property of Ireland became Protestant, while the body of the nation was left stronger in its adherence to the Romish Church, than when the contest began in the reign of Elizabeth.

Thenceforward the Romish faith in Ireland was identified with the hopes of all whose ancestors had been deprived of their estates in the preceding wars and insurrections; and hence the attachment to Rome, scarcely perceptible in the reign of Elizabeth, was the great moving power in the contest between William III. and James II. During all these con-

tests a serious error was committed by the English: they looked entirely to subduing the Irish aristocracy, and made no effort to gain the Irish people. The priests saw the blunder, and profited by it; they had an advantage whose efficacy the Protestant clergy never properly appreciated: they understood the language of the people: most of the reformed preachers were Englishmen by birth, education, and feeling; they did not know the peculiar character of the Irish nation, and they, therefore, contended at a fearful disadvantage against men who were acquainted with the habits, the maxims, and the superstitions of an ignorant and excitable population.

We have seen that popery, like its offset Jesuitism, owes much of its success to its accomodating nature. In the wars of Elizabeth, Charles I., and James II., it was in close alliance with the Irish and Anglo-Irish aristocracy; when those bodies were irretrievably ruined by the wars of the Revolution, popery sought support exclusively from the democracy, and it gained in strength what it lost in splendour. In acquiring this new dominion, the priests were materially aided by two systems apparently opposed to each other: the enactment of the penal laws, and their repeal. The penal laws were nominally directed to check the growth of popery, but their effect was to prevent the growth of a Romish aristocracy, to change the Irish Romanists into a uniform mob, held together by common disqualifications. When this task was accomplished, the

Irish Parliament seemed to think its labours complete, and it abandoned all further care of religion. Several of the Protestant bishops perceived this error, and remonstrated; but the majority of the Irish Protestants were descended from the Presbyterians and Independents of Cromwell's days; they never forgot the hatred of their ancestors to prelacy, and they frequently showed jealousy, if not enmity, towards the Established Church. The power of the Romish priests thus extended and increased, until their hierarchy could move the whole body of the peasantry at pleasure. It is now notorious that, at the moment when the Protestants of Ireland believed themselves most secure, every Romish bishop in that country was an emissary of the Pretender, and many of the priests recruiting officers to supply France and Spain with soldiers to contend against the power of England.

When the penal laws began to be gradually repealed, the earliest concession made was the elective franchise: the immediate result was, that the landowners ceased to give the preference to a Protestant tenantry which they had previously exhibited, and granted their farms to those who offered the highest rent. The Protestant farmers were habituated to a higher degree of comfort than the Romish peasantry; they were unable to compete with them in the market for land, and multitudes of them emigrated to America, which was then on the eve of a revolution. Thus the Protestant Church was suddenly

weakened by the loss of the greater part of the country population, while the Romish priests gained control over the rising industry of the country. The Protestants of the middle classes still retained the ascendancy in the towns, but Ireland was and is an agricultural rather than a manufacturing country, and it was evident that the towns must daily receive infusions from the country, which would gradually change the character of the population. The process was at first slow, but it has recently proceeded with alarming rapidity, and it is not difficult to discover the causes of the acceleration.

A great change has been wrought in the character of the Irish priesthood, since the establishment of the Romish college at Maynooth; one of the most dangerous institutions ever sanctioned by a government. Previous to the French Revolution the Irish Romanists were obliged to seek for education on the continent; travelling, and the habit of mixing with foreign society, removed many of their superstitions, softened their manners, and abated those prejudices against English rule, which were fostered by local traditions.

Many persons now alive can remember the time when the Romish priest was a welcome guest at the Protestant table, when he was the friend of the landlord as well as the tenant, and when experience of foreign despotism taught him to value the blessings of British institutions. But the state of the continent, towards the close of the last century,

induced the British minister to devise a plan for the domestic education of the Irish priesthood, and, in an evil hour, he adopted Dr. Hussey's plan for the establishment of Maynooth.

The Rev. Dr. Hussey had won Mr. Pitt's confidence by his adroitness in the management of some delicate negotiations with the court of Madrid; he was a man of considerable talent, and boundless ambition, and he eagerly embraced an opportunity for securing to the Romish Church in Ireland a permanent basis. It was at first proposed that the system of education for the Romish priests should form a part of the Irish University, to which dissenters of every grade are admissible, either by founding a second college, or by superadding a faculty of Romish theology to the existing institution.

Many circumstances concurred to defeat this project, which, perhaps, was capable of being so modified as to be made wholly unobjectionable; Dr. Hussey took advantage of the crisis, and secured his great object, that the establishment at Maynooth should be exclusive, and, consequently, that its entire system of discipline should be under the guidance and control of the Romish hierarchy. There was, indeed, a reservation for an annual visitation, by persons holding high judicial station; but the visitors can only know the letter of the laws for the government of the institution, the spirit of their administration must manifestly be guided by the resident

directors. The actual effect of education at Maynooth will be best understood by the following sketch of the ordinary history of an Irish priest.

Candidates for the priesthood are usually found in the lower grade of the middle class; they are the sons of petty shopkeepers, and humble farmers. When a boy of such a family displays any aptitude for learning, he is at once placed in a new situation, and marked out from his brothers and sisters, as one destined to the sacred order. The reverence shown him by his companions exalts his spiritual pride, and rivets every prejudice firmly in his mind. Protestants of the same rank refuse to join in the homage paid to the young aspirant, and hence his self-opinion is wounded, so that from the very starting-post he acquires a dislike of them and their religion.

His education is rigidly exclusive; he learns a little Latin and a great deal of bigotry; he must submit implicitly to the dictates of the order to which he will hereafter belong,—for recommendations to Maynooth can only be obtained by a tried submission and attachment to the ordinances and observances of the Romish Church. By the time that the young aspirant has completed his preparatory course, he has been trained to regard the priesthood as the highest dignity attainable by human ambition, and he has learned that his future interests will be best promoted by maintaining and propagating such an opinion.

At Maynooth he is subjected to a system of monastic discipline, which it is scarcely credible could exist in the nineteenth century. The students are not allowed to converse, meet together, or enjoy any relaxation, without the permission of a superior, which is rarely asked, and still more rarely accorded; lectures are read to them during their meals, and they are compelled to give proofs of attention to them; no books or papers are allowed to be read that have not previously been sanctioned by the collegiate authorities; dress, diet, and even sleep, are subject to minute regulations, which are all strictly enforced.

The course of study in classics and science is very meagre, and there is good reason to believe that in this department omission is not only tolerated but encouraged. Dogmatic theology is the main object of study, and the chief intellectual discipline is to brandish the weapons of scholastic logic. Such is the mechanical drill to which the spiritual militia of the Romish Church in Ireland is subjected, and it must be confessed that human ingenuity could scarcely have devised better means for making it effective.

The priest quits college with all the prejudices of his youth strengthened, and darkened besides by the superstitious gloom which such a course of education necessarily produces. He is sent to take charge of a flock at a distance from his native place, in order that the remembered meanness of his origin should

not weaken his sacerdotal authority, and he enters on his charge with a hatred of Protestantism which every circumstance of his life tends to increase. Ignorance of the usages of polite society excludes him from mixing with the higher ranks, and pride limits his intercourse with the inferior classes. To exalt his order necessarily becomes the chief object of his ambition; his whole energies are directed to acquire spiritual sway and political power.

We can now see that the interference of the priests in Irish elections is the necessary result of their position, and that the influence they exercise is matured by all the circumstances of their birth and education. It only remains to examine how popery, under such circumstances, has come to be allied with democracy, and by what means spiritual despotism is linked with the wildest schemes for political freedom. This alliance formed a part of the great scheme devised by Dr. Hussey, when he prevailed upon Mr. Pitt to establish Maynooth; it consisted of two parts, to make the priests masters of the people, and the people masters of the empire. The former object has been pretty well attained: the lower ranks of the Romanists feel a personal interest in maintaining the character of the priesthood, because they know that their children may aspire to fill its ranks; the priests take advantage of the feeling to strengthen and extend their sacerdotal claims, and to exaggerate the importance of the rites which they alone can administer: the latter

part of the plan appeared at one time more difficult of execution, but recent events have shown that an organized populace can prevail at an election over property and station. Indeed, a Romish prelate, Dr. Mac Hale, is reported to have said that he could return a cow-boy for the important county of Galway.

There is not an election, in which we do not find instances of the priests threatening that they would withhold the rites of their church from those who voted for a conservative candidate. We shall quote a few specimens, from the Parliamentary Report on Intimidation, of these sacerdotal denunciations, giving a reference to the number of each answer cited.

Priest Falvery threatened that he would neither baptize, nor christen, nor perform the rites of the Church to a man named Connor, who had promised to vote for the Knight of Kerry. (11,852.) Father Walsh said, at Borrischapel, "that any one who voted for Kavanagh and Bruen should be refused all religious rites, and so run the risk of everlasting punishment." (11,094.) Father John O'Sullivan said at the altar, "that any one who would vote for the Knight of Kerry, he would not prepare him for death, but he would let him die like a beast, neither would he baptize his children. (11,990.) He told them he would be under moral excommunication; he vowed to heaven he would look upon that person who would become an apostate to his religion in a

milder light than he would that traitor who would vote for the Knight of Kerry." (12,013.) In every chapel in county Kerry, *except three*, the priests warned the people to vote for the popular candidate, *on pain of being held as enemies to their religion.* (4659.) In county Carlow, Bishop Nolan addressed a circular to his clergy, calling on them to exert themselves in behalf of the Catholic candidates. (5050 and 11,587.) At Clonmel, one of the priests went to an elector, and asked him, "Would he not vote for his God and his religion—would he not vote for his priest, who, on his death-bed, would administer to him the rites of his Church?" (5277.) In county Waterford, Bishop Abraham encouraged his clergy to promote the opposition to the Protestant candidates. (5347-8.) At Cashel, the priest threatened Mr. Pennefather's tenants "with the deprivation of the rites of their religion; that he would melt them off the face of the earth; that he would put the sickness on them; that they should not dare to vote as they liked, but as he liked; that if they did, the grass should grow at their door," wiping his boots there at the same time. (5451.) At Clonmel, "not only," says Mr. Wilcock, "did the priests of the town interfere, but all the priests from the adjacent parishes; one of them stated that he would turn any of his flock who voted for Mr. Bagwell into a serpent." (5525.) "In Meath, Monaghan, and Louth," says Mr. Mullen, an agitator, "the Roman Catholic priests were members of the

political clubs." (8450.) Mr. Lalor tells us that he was in the habit of addressing the people in the chapel-yard on Sunday, accompanied by the priest, (p. 329.) In county Carlow, at the hustings, "every priest in the county," says a witness, "was collected; as the electors did not know Mr. Wallace, they would point their attention to him, and to the placard mentioning his name and Blackney; and I have seen many of them in the booths, making unseemly gestures towards those who voted against them. On many occasions the deputy-sheriff threatened to call the attention of the sheriff to their conduct in the booths." (11,161.) Father Maher sent for Mrs. Burgess to the vestry-room in the chapel, and there used all his spiritual power to induce her to work upon her husband (a Protestant) to make him vote for Mr. Vigors. This is stated by Mr. Burgess, in a letter to the Roman Catholic Bishop Nolan, *who did not condemn Father Maher.* (p. 642.) Priest Kehoe addressed the people from the altar of his chapel; said every man who did not vote with them he should denounce "as a renegade and apostate;" held up one who voted against them as a "hypocritical apostate seduced by Satan, who had bartered his soul, his country, and his God, for money; told them not to do this, but to be true to their souls, their country, and their God." (11,315.) "In Carlow, the Roman Catholic priests of each parish brought in the freeholders in procession." (11,456.)

The unfortunate man who ventured to despise such energetic commands would soon find himself in a worse condition than an Indian Pariah, shunned by his neighbours, reproached by his family, deserted by his friends, left alone to bear the stings and arrow with which gloomy superstition assails the bosoms of the ignorant. It is not surprising that the landowners have wholly failed in the contest with such influence, and that the priests virtually possess full one-half of the representation of Ireland. Their policy is not directed to support the power of the Pope, or of the Court of Rome: its great aim is to make their hierarchy a political order of the State, or rather to make the priesthood supreme. That they have succeeded to a considerable extent is certain; but we doubt whether their real advantage is quite so great as their apparent,—in fact, we think that the structure which they labour to raise contains within it the elements of self-destruction, and must fall into ruins.

From the account we have given of the general character of the Romish priesthood in Ireland, it is manifest that they are elevated neither by education nor position above the influence of popular passions and vulgar prejudices,—indeed, every successful exertion of their power has been in direct accordance with both. They are now demagogues as well as priests, and the more they make the former character prominent, the more is the moral influence of the latter weakened. They have more than once

been taught to succumb to the popular violence which they have themselves excited: Captain Rock's tariff attacks the priests' dues as well as the parsons' tithes. Moreover, the personal influence of the priest over his flock is sensibly diminishing; he may concentrate and guide turbulent passions at an election, or in raising the outcry of bigotry against scriptural education; but he cannot build his chapel in the spot best suited to his own convenience, or the interests of his favourites; the Romish diocesan dares not remove a popular curate: in anxiety to court popular favour, the Romish hierarchy has placed its own constitution and discipline at the mercy of the multitude. There is, in fact, a general revolt of the flocks against the Romish shepherds, which the present political excitement adjourns, but does not allay; and we see no reason to doubt that the diffusion of sound education will, in Ireland, as elsewhere, lead to the overthrow of a delusion which commenced in imposture, and has only been maintained by ignorance.

In every part of the world monastic institutions are becoming unpopular; though the disclosures of criminality in convents, recently published, are open to suspicion, there is no doubt entertained of the demoralizing influence of enforced celibacy: even in Spain and Portugal the monasteries are regarded with suspicion, if not of hostility. But it was to these institutions that popery was indebted for its success: it was by the influence of the various orders

of monks and friars that the popes were able to crush the independence of national churches. A very slight glance at the state of the continent will show that the different churches of France, Austria, Spain, and even Italy, are daily becoming more national, and less subject to foreign influence. The Romish Church in Ireland would have been severed from the Holy See, or else divided into hostile sections, had not political events forced upon its members a conviction of the expediency of remaining united. To conclude, we think that the elements of reformation are at work within the Church of Rome, and that as peace affords opportunity for their development, they will continually become stronger and more energetic, until they work out the full restoration of primitive Christianity.

Chapter XXVII.

HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION.

In the preceding chapters of this work we have noticed the first establishment of the Inquisition, after the conquest of the Albigenses, and shown its connexion with the political system of Popery; but in one part of Europe the Inquisition rose to such a formidable height of power, that it may be almost regarded as an independent institution, an ally rather than a servant of the papacy. It seems, therefore, necessary to make the history of the Spanish Inquisition the subject of a separate chapter, because in its origin, constitution, and management, it was peculiar to the peninsula.

The new, or Spanish, Inquisition, was established by Ferdinand the Catholic, A. D. 1481; the objects against which it was directed were the forced converts from Judaism, whose vast wealth tempted avarice far more than their supposed errors provoked bigotry. The first step of the inquisitors was to draw up a code of tests by which concealed Judaism might be detected; the articles were very numerous, and descended to the most minute particulars of the Jewish customs; for instance, a person became obnoxious to the new tribunal if, on the death of a friend or relative, "he uttered a discourse in praise

of the dead, or recited melancholy verses,—if he sate behind the door as a sign of grief,—if he confined himself one year to the house after the death of any person, to prove the sincerity of his sorrow." These tests were multiplied in order to persuade Isabella of the great extent of secret Judaism, for that enlightened queen long resisted the establishment of the holy office. So many victims were sentenced to be burned in the very first year, that the prefect of Seville was forced to construct a stone scaffold for the executions, which may still be seen near that city. On this scaffold were erected four statues of plaster, called the four prophets, to which the condemned were fastened, or, as some think, in which they were enclosed, and then put to death by lingering tortures.

Torquemada was soon after appointed inquisitor-general of Spain, and he prepared a code of laws for the regulation of the tribunal, which has no parallel in the annals of barbarity; every encouragement was afforded to spies and informers, the use of secret torture was strictly enjoined, the accused were deprived of every chance of refuting the charges brought against them, and any act of humanity from the gaoler to a prisoner was declared a crime of the highest magnitude. The popes did not discourage a system which proved the source of immense profits from the numbers who sought bulls of absolution and protection at Rome; but the Spanish inquisitors, indignant at the escape of their victims, severely

reprobated the facility with which these bulls were accorded by the successors of St. Peter.

Deza, who was chosen to succeed Torquemada as chief inquisitor, extended the persecution from the suspected Jews to the descendants of the Moors, who had continued in Granada after the great bulk of the nation had been expelled by Ferdinand. During his administration of eight years, we find in the records of Seville, that two thousand five hundred and ninety-two persons were burned alive, eight hundred and ninety-six who escaped were burned in effigy, and thirty-four thousand nine hundred and fifty-two condemned to different penances.

The celebrated Cardinal Ximenes was the successor of Deza; he endeavoured, in some degree, to mitigate the severity of the Inquisition, but he was unable to restrain the ferocious bigotry of his associates, and during the eleven years of his administration, more than fifty thousand persons were condemned to various punishments, of whom three thousand five hundred and sixty-four were burned alive.

Fresh activity was infused into the inquisitors by the preaching of the Reformation: Don Alphonso Manriquez, the fifth inquisitor-general, issued an edict prohibiting the introduction of the works of Luther into Spain, under very severe penalties. All books of heresy and sorcery were ordered to be burned; and such was the ignorance of the fanatics who presided over the execution of this edict, that

they caused several Hebrew bibles to be burned at Salamanca, as books which inculcated the tenets of Judaism! The writings of Erasmus very narrowly escaped from this prohibition; some of them, however, were wholly forbidden, and it was recommended that the rest should be read with great caution.

The rigid examination to which the accused were subjected, when the progress of the reformed doctrines began to alarm the papal zealots, may be estimated by the process-verbal of the torture of Salas, who had been accused of blasphemy. Salas denied the charge, and the inquisitor Moriz sentenced him to the torture. The following extract is taken the official account of his examination:—

"At Valladolid, on the 11th of June, 1527, the licentiate Moriz, inquisitor, caused the licentiate Salas to appear before him, and the sentence was read and notified to him. After the reading, the said licentiate Salas declared that *he had not said that of which he was accused;* and the said licentiate Moriz immediately caused him to be led to the chamber of torture, where, being stripped to his shirt, he was placed upon the rack, to which the executioner, Pedro Porras, fastened him by the arms and legs with cords of hemp, of which he made eleven turns round each limb; Salas, during the time that the said Pedro was thus binding him, was warned to speak the truth, but persevered in the former reply. The said Salas being still tied as before mentioned, a fine wet cloth was put over his face, and about a

pint of water was poured into his mouth and nostrils, from an earthen vessel with a hole at the bottom, containing about two quarts; nevertheless, *he still persisted in denying the accusation.* Then Pedro tightened the cords on the right leg, and poured a second measure of water on the face; the cords were tightened a second time on the same leg, but *Salas still persevered in his denial.* Then the said licentiate Moriz, having declared that THE TORTURE WAS BEGUN, BUT NOT FINISHED, commanded that it should cease."

That the reader may fully understand this beginning of torture, it is necessary to know the instrument, or rack, called by the Spaniards *escalera*, which was used on this occasion. It is formed like a groove, large enough to hold the body of a man, without a bottom, but it is crossed by a stick, over which the body falls in such a manner that the feet are much higher than the head; and the mere weight of the wretched sufferer produces such a pressure on the cords, even before they are tightened by mechanical means, that they often cut into the bone. In such a state respiration is very difficult, but it was rendered nearly impossible by the exquisite cruelty of the wet cloth, and the dripping of water into the mouth and nostrils. Finally, we may mention that Salas, in the end, was partially acquitted, and set at large, on the condition of performing public penance, and paying a moderate fine.

Notwithstanding these severities Lutheranism was

secretly propagated in Spain; and it was even asserted that the emperor, Charles V., had swerved from orthodoxy after his abdication. Philip II., the most gloomy bigot that ever disgraced a throne, consulted the Grand Inquisitor Valdes, and on the application of both, a bull was obtained from Rome, consigning to destruction not only dogmatising Lutherans, obstinate in error, but even those who had returned to the Church, if they had exhibited equivocal signs of repentance. Immense numbers were arrested, and an *auto da fe*, celebrated at Valladolid, in which the more obstinate were burned, and the remainder admitted to reconciliation, on performing penance. This horrible scene was displayed in the grand square of Valladolid, May 21st, 1559, in the presence of the prince Don Carlos, the princess Juana, and the principal grandees of Spain. In the same year, also, an *auto da fe* was celebrated at Seville, in which twenty-one Lutherans were burned, some of whom were ladies of the highest rank.

In the following year an *auto da fe*, in which fourteen persons were burned, was also celebrated in Seville. Among the victims was an Englishman named Nicholas Burton, who had come to Spain as captain of a merchant vessel; the inquisitors confiscated the ship and cargo, and there is some reason to suspect that the sentence of condemnation was in some degree dictated by avarice. During the following ten years at least one *auto da fe* was annually celebrated in Spain; and there is no doubt

that many of the victims were innocent persons, denounced merely from spite and malice.

During the Austrian dynasty in Spain, *auto da fes* were of frequent occurrence, but the Inquisition seems to have fallen in public estimation, having become an engine of state policy. When the Bourbon family acquired the throne in the person of Philip V., that monarch's accession was celebrated by an *auto da fe*, which he refused to witness. But his repugnance to the system was soon overcome; and during his reign of forty-six years, no less than seven hundred and eighty-two of these atrocious spectacles were exhibited in Spain, in which fourteen thousand and sixty-six individuals underwent various degrees of punishment.

In the reign of Ferdinand VI. (from 1746 to 1759) there was no general *auto da fe*, but ten persons were burned who had relapsed into Judaism. During the reigns of Charles III. and IV. only ten persons were condemned, four of whom were burned, and fifty-six individuals subjected to penances. About this time freemasonry began to attract the notice of the inquisitors, and they denounced severe penalties against all members of secret societies; but though many were accused, the tribunals readily permitted the suspected to renounce the charge privately, or to compromise the accusation.

The Inquisition was abolished in 1813 by the Spanish Cortes, and restored in the following year by Ferdinand VII., but no *auto da fe* was celebrated

during its renewed existence. It is now formally abolished; but Don Carlos, who claims the crown of Spain, is pledged to the restoration of this formidable tribunal, and it is on this account that he is so zealously supported by the monks and friars. The last victim of the Inquisition was a nun, who was burned on the charge of having made a compact with the devil. She suffered on the 7th of November, 1781.

Llorente, from whose History of the Spanish Inquisition, compiled out of its own records, we have derived most of the details we have recorded, gives the following table of the number of victims who were punished by the Holy Office, during the period of its power, from 1481 to 1781:—

Burned alive	31,912
Burned in effigy	17,659
Condemned to severe penances . .	291,450
Total number of victims . .	341,021

Although the Inquisition was introduced into the Spanish colonies of South America by the laws of Philip II., the Holy Office was never so formidable there as in the mother-country. Though some of the ecclesiastics who accompanied the first adventurers stimulated them to slaughter the helpless natives as idolaters and enemies of God, the succeeding missionaries taught more humane doctrines, and zealously laboured to propagate the knowledge of Christianity by the simple arts of persuasion.

Valverde, indeed, stimulated Pizarro to murder the innocent Peruvians, because the Inca Atahualpa threw down the breviary, in utter ignorance of its meaning or contents; but this was a sudden burst of fanaticism, or rather of avarice, for the historians declare that long before Valverde gave the signal, the cupidity of the Spaniards was stimulated by the sight of the rich dresses of the Peruvians, and that they could with difficulty be restrained from making an assault, until some pretext for perfidy could be devised by the artful priest. From the time of the conquest of Peru, the ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, became the protectors of the Indians, and were their only protection against the hardships and exactions to which they were exposed by the colonists.

Though the Inquisition has been formally abolished, its spirit is still preserved in countries where Romanism maintains extensive sway. The priests in Ireland exercise the discretionary power of naming from the altar any person suspected of failing in reverence or attachment to the faith; and the person thus pointed out as a mark for popular odium is sure to endure manifold persecutions, and his life is not unfrequently endangered.

Chapter XXVII.

THE CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE OF LEGENDS IN THE ROMISH CHURCH.

In the preceding chapters we have shown that popery was a distinct principle introduced into the Romish Church, the consequence of antecedent corruptions, and the prolific parent of subsequent abuses. The distinction between Romanism and popery is sufficiently evident: in the former system the supremacy of the Church as an ecclesiastical body is sought to be established; in the latter, everything is made subservient to investing individuals with political power. Hence we find the monastic orders invariably supporting the papal system, and eagerly joining the Roman pontiffs in subverting the independence of the European churches. The means by which the monks and friars were enabled to effect their objects naturally require some brief notice, and we find that these were appeals to the passions and prejudices of the lower orders, an affected sympathy with the peasantry, and the invention of countless legends, eagerly received by a credulous multitude, all of which had a direct tendency to exalt the character of the monastic orders, and represent their voluntary austerities as purchasing the peculiar favour of heaven.

This system, however, was neither an original nor

a recent invention; from the earliest ages it has prevailed in the centre and the south of Asia; the blasphemous notion of compelling Omnipotence to accord his favour by voluntary mortifications and extraordinary sacrifices, meets us in every form of eastern superstition. Indeed, so great is the similarity between the monastic institutions of popery and those of Buddhism, that the Jesuit missionaries, after having vainly endeavoured to derive the latter from the former, gravely asserted that Buddhism was devised by the devil as a kind of anticipatory parody on Christianity!

After the Jewish captivity the practice of extraordinary penances and austerities was introduced into Judæa by the Essenes; thence it passed into Egypt, and was finally received with favour in the Latin Church, when the corrupt pontiffs discovered the influence of the system over an ignorant people. It must not, however, be forgotten that monachism was advocated by many of the Fathers, such as Tertullian, St Augustine, and, above all, St. Jerome, but their general declamations refer rather to individual observances, than to organized bodies of monks.

The first great object of the monkish legends is to exalt the monastic orders, and for this purpose they unscrupulously ascribe to their patrons and founders the power of working miracles on the most trifling occasions. Many of these miracles are blasphemous parodies on those of our blessed Lord;

not a few are borrowed from the pagan mythology, but some are so exquisitely absurd, that no one but a monk could have dreamed of imposing such nonsense on the most besotted of mankind. Take, for instance, the following strange story in the life of St. Dominic.

St. Dominic laboured, read, prayed, and meditated incessantly. The devil, though exceedingly jealous of the eminent virtues of the holy man, allowed him rest during the day, but played him a thousand mischievous tricks when night came on. One imp, named Casbi, was particularly employed to plague Dominic; and when the saint was engaged in reading religious books, used to annoy him by blowing out the candle. Dominic long endured the trick with patience; but, at length, Casbi having extinguished the light while he was studying the Scripture, Dominic got vexed, and said, "Master Casbi, as you put out the candle for your pleasure, you shall hold it for mine, until I have finished my reading." The dæmon was compelled to obey, and to hold the candle until it burned down, and severely scorched his claws. Even then he was not permitted to let it go, though he howled with pain, until the saint believed that he had been sufficiently punished for his former impudence.

In a life of St. Bernard, published at Antwerp in 1655, we find a still more whimsical story, supported by a host of vouchers for its authenticity.

"St. Bernard was once travelling in a cart on

some pious errand; the devil, afraid that some souls might be rescued from his clutches, broke the wheel of the cart, and tumbled the saint into a ditch. Bernard, however, immediately sprung up, and commanded the insolent fiend to bend himself into a circular form, and take the place of the broken wheel. He then continued his journey; and as his course lay over a very rugged and rocky road, the fiend received so many bruises and wounds, that the chronicler avers, he will not recover from them during the course of his life." In the work from which we quote (*Medulla vitæ S. Bernardi*), this edifying history is illustrated by a spirited engraving of the scene, in which full justice is done to the contortions of the devil, when forced to serve as a chariot-wheel for the saint.

It will readily be believed that such puerile legends as the two we have quoted could only impose on the lowest of mankind; but we more than doubt that these, and similar legends, cease to invented. To say nothing of Prince Hohenlohe's miracles, and of the child killed by an insane priest, in the county of Wexford, while under the process of exorcism, there is no person intimately acquainted with the peasantry in the south of Ireland, who has not heard from them legends equally absurd, which are received with the most implicit credit. One of these, related to the writer by a peasant, who, by the way, was disposed to resent his incredulity very roughly, may be mentioned as an example.

In one of St. Patrick's numerous contests with the devil, the fiend was so annoyed, that he took a large bite out of the Galtee mountains, and then ran away right across the country, intending to pass into England. Patrick's boasts of victory so provoked him, however, that he turned round to have a last word. The piece of the mountain fell from his mouth in the midst of the plain: it forms the present rock of Cashel, on which St. Patrick erected a cathedral to perpetuate the event. "And sure enough," said our informant, "here is the rock still, and over there is the gap in the mountain, which they call the Devil's bit, to this day."

It would be easy to accumulate proofs of the ready belief which the lower orders of Irish Romanists give to tales of miracles worked by their priests; but it is remarkable that, in the earlier legends, we very rarely find supernatural powers attributed to the secular ecclesiastics; the heroes of most of the tales are monks and hermits, whose voluntary poverty seemed to bring them down to a level of sympathy with the lower orders. Indiscriminate alms, which have often been demonstrated to be the source of great evils, are always popular with the uninstructed, —and hence we find that many of the heroes of the legends are celebrated for the prodigality of their benevolence. Some extracts from the life of St. Francis, the founder of one of the most extensive monkish orders, will show how artfully the legends have been framed to flatter the prejudices of the vulgar.

In the early part of his life Francis lived like other young men of his time; but a little after he reached his twentieth year, he went as a pilgrim to Rome; there having reflected on the vanity of sublunary affairs, he resolved to lead a life of voluntary poverty; he stripped off his garments, covered himself with rags, and joined the crowd of mendicants usually assembled round the church of St. Peter. To exhibit his humility in a more striking light, he frequently kissed and embraced the beggars afflicted with leprosy, and showed no repugnance to the most loathsome objects. His father was a rich merchant, and Francis did not hesitate to seize on some of his wealth, and distribute it for alms in the lazar-house of Assize, his native city. A miracle was vouchsafed to stimulate his piety: whilst he was praying before the altar in the church of St. Damian, the crucifix suddenly became animated, and thus addressed him:—"Francis, haste to repair my house, which, as you see, lies wholly in ruins." From that moment his soul was filled with an ardent desire to procure a proper habitation for the miraculous crucifix; he seized all the money on which he could lay his hands, and brought it to a priest to expend on the repairs of the edifice. The priest, fearing that the father of the young votary might interfere to prevent such a distribution of his property, refused to receive the money; but Francis flung it, as if it were mere trash, at his feet, and went his way.

It soon appeared that the priest's suspicions were not without foundation; the father of the saint, fearing that the pious liberality of Francis might lead to bankruptcy, had him arrested and brought to trial before the bishop. Francis stripped himself naked in the presence of the assembly, renounced his father and his paternal inheritance, covered himself with an old blanket, which he fastened round his waist with a cord,—a custom still observed by the Franciscan monastics,—and having placed an old hood on his head, proceeded in this guise to preach in the streets and highways. A similar insanity seized on many others of various ranks, who eagerly proclaimed themselves his disciples. Among the most illustrious of his followers was St. Clare, who founded an order of nuns, with rules so rigid, that they forbade any attention to cleanliness or decency.

The austerities ascribed to St. Francis are precisely those which are still practised by the eastern ascetics,—another proof of the Indian origin of monachism; indeed, he seems to have been in some degree a believer in the metempsychosis, for he refused to kill the most noxious vermin; and he preached to birds, to fishes, to sheep, and to horses. He even called animals, plants, and the elements, his brethren. The birds were particularly charmed with his kindness: they caressed him, sung to him, and were silent when he commanded them. But we find that even fire was obedient to the saint.

He was once seized with a severe pain in the eyes, and the physician he consulted deemed it necessary to apply the actual cautery. Francis, addressing the heated steel, said, "Brother fire, be so kind as to abate your heat, and burn me so gently, that I may not feel the pain." The obedient fire at once yielded to his request. At another time Francis was preaching in the open air, when a donkey in a neighbouring field brayed so loud and so long, that not a word of the sermon could be heard. "Brother ass," said the saint, "keep quiet, and permit me to preach." Whereupon the donkey knelt down, placed its head between its legs, and gave a remarkable example of earnest attention to the rest of the congregation.

But a donkey was not the only animal which St. Francis found willing to listen to reason. There was a wolf, which kept an entire city in alarm by its strength and ferocity; scarce a day elapsed in which an inhabitant was not wounded or killed. Francis went in search of the marauder, and having found him in his lair, said, "Brother wolf, if you will promise me to abstain from mischief, the inhabitants of the town will supply you regularly with food." The wolf made signs with his head that he desired nothing better. "Give me your promise," said the saint. The wolf, in the most polite manner, held out his right fore-paw, and shook the hand of the saint as a pledge of the bargain. They returned together to the city; and Francis, having collected a crowd,

thus spoke to the assembly: "Christian friends, my brother, the wolf, whom you see before you, has repented of the error of his ways, and will live henceforth in peace, if you supply him with daily food, according to an agreement for which I stand pledged." The multitude with one accord declared that the wolf should want for nothing. The saint continued, "Now, brother wolf, will you faithfully keep your promise?" The wolf fell upon his knees, and placing his paw upon his heart, seemed to pledge his honour to the bargain. The animal survived two years, during which he patiently went for his food from door to door, and lived in peace, not only with the citizens, but with all the dogs in his neighbourhood.

St. Francis, however, was not alone in subduing wolves; we find that these animals were equally obedient to St. Clare. It is recorded that a wolf ran away with a young girl who was sleeping by the side of an old woman; the latter, on waking, discovered the fate of her companion, and loudly invoked the aid of St. Clare. "Impudent beast!" said the girl to the wolf, "do you dare to detain me after the aid of so powerful a saint has been invoked?" The wolf, filled with terror, dropped the child, and ran to hide itself in the forest.

But though St. Francis showed such a tender care for well-behaved animals, he did not hesitate to punish those who were guilty of impropriety. There was a stupid sow which killed a little lamb by its

awkwardness, and the saint cursed the brute, upon which it began to wither away, and within three days died in such a state that the most hungry person would not venture to use its flesh. Francis was still more severe on women, who interrupted his sermons by noise and chattering. On one occasion, an impudent woman began jingling a tambourine in the midst of his preaching, and though warned to desist, persevered in disturbing the congregation. Upon this the saint exclaimed, "Satan, Satan, take what is thine own!" and the woman, lifted up into the air by some invisible power, disappeared, and was never again seen upon earth.

The most remarkable miracle in the life of St. Francis is his stigmatization, in commemoration of which Paul V., by a bull issued in the year 1616, appointed a festival to be annually celebrated. St. Francis declared that Jesus Christ appeared to him in a vision, and imprinted copies of his five wounds on the body of the saint; who, from that time, acquired the name of the Seraphic Doctor. Bulls, confirming the authenticity of this blasphemous absurdity, were issued by Popes Gregory IX., Alexander IV., Nicholas III., Nicholas IV., Benedict XI., and, as we have already said, Paul V.

The authors of the Franciscan Martyrology add that the body of the saint remains to this day untouched by the natural process of decay, erect upon its feet, with the eyes open and fixed upon heaven, and the wounds retaining all their freshness.

They add that it was seen by a host of witnesses previous to the sixteenth century, but that the crypt has since been closed by Divine agency, and will not be again opened until the day of the resurrection.

We find a strange and even more blasphemous account of St. Francis in the legend of St. Dominic, which has furnished Rubens with a subject for one of his most celebrated paintings. Whilst St. Dominic was one night praying at Rome, he saw, with his waking eyes, the heavens open, and Jesus Christ sitting at the right hand of God. Suddenly, the Son rose in his anger to sweep all sinners from the earth, and exterminate the workers of iniquity. He stood erect on the clouds, terrible to behold, brandishing three lances against the world: the first of these was to transfix the necks of the proud, the second to pierce the hearts of the covetous, and the third to cleave through those who indulged the lusts of the flesh.

An end would have been put to the whole human race, had not the Virgin Mother cast herself at the feet of her son, and begged him to spare those whom he had redeemed, and to temper justice with mercy. To her the Son replied, "Do you not see what wrongs are perpetrated against me? My justice does not permit such crimes to pass unpunished." Then the Virgin Mother answered, "Thou who knowest all things must be aware that there are means to withdraw them from the error of their

ways; I have a faithful servant, whom thou mayest send into the world to proclaim thy will, and sinners shall be turned to thee, the Saviour of all; I have also another servant, whom I will give as an assistant to him, that they may work together." The Son said, "Lo! I am appeased; but show me those whom you destine for so high an office." Then the Blessed Mother showed St. Dominic to Jesus Christ, and the Lord said to his mother, "He will well and zealously perform what you have promised." She then presented St. Francis, with whom also the Lord expressed himself satisfied.

St. Dominic very attentively scanned the features of his appointed fellow-labourer, whom he had not previously known. On the next day he recognised in a church the person whom he had seen in the vision of the preceding night, and rushing into his embraces, said, "Thou art my companion, with me shalt thou run thy course; we will stand together, and no adversary shall prevail against us." He then related his vision, and the two saints became one heart and one spirit in the Lord.

The miracles attributed to the Irish saints are even more extravagant than those in the continental martyrologies. We find St. Patrick performing the miracle of raising the dead to life no less than seventeen times, and on one occasion he restores animation to thirty-four persons at once. Gerald, Bishop of Mayo, however, surpassed St. Patrick, for he not only resuscitated the dead daughter of the King of

Connaught, but miraculously changed her sex, that she might inherit the crown of the province, in which the Salic law was then established.

One of the most singular Irish legends of saints is related in a hymn for the service commemorating its hero; we insert the original, with a clever translation, published in a popular periodical:—

Lucernæ nova specula Illustratur Hibernia; Coruscat Meldis insula Tanta lucis præsentia.	Hibernia to her constellation Of saints has got a bright accession, Whose shining light adorns our story, And clothes the banks of Marne with glory.
Illa misit Fiacrium Hæc missum habet radium Habent commune gaudium Hæc patrem illa filium.	For 'twas Hibernia hither sent us, The good Fiacre to content us; Whence she and we rejoice together, She in a son, we in a father.
Ad vitam solitariam Suspirans, exit patriam; Favonem Meldis reperit Cui suum votum aperit:	To lead a hermit's life intending, He from his home in sorrow wending, To our good bishop did apply him, Who studying how to gratify him,
Hunc loco solitario Locat in solo proprio; Fit Joanni similis Cultor deserti sterilis.	Far in a forest unfrequented A hermitage to him presented; A place for penitent the aptest, Indeed a desert for John Baptist.
Dum locum signat baculo Novo nemus miraculo, Tanquam cæsum dejicitur, Humo non fossa cingitur.	Here while with 's staff he traced his meaning, The woods (some angel's hatchet cleaving) Fell down, as if before the woodman, And left a garden for the good man.
Sic sancti viri meritum Loci dilatat ambitum; Res innotescit fœminæ Accusat ut de crimine:	While thus on heavenly aid depending, Fiacre was his bounds extending, A wicked wife, who heard the clamour, Declared it all the work of glamour.
Damnat opus malefici Diffamat artem magici; Præsentandus hic præsidi Lassus insedit lapidi;	She raised the hideous cry of witch up, And down upon him brought the bishop; Meanwhile the Saint, such woe oppressed him, Sat down upon a stone to rest him.
Lapis cedit nec cæditur, Petræ sedes insculpitur, O fœminæ nequitia Petrâ major duritia.	His sacred seat the stone indented, And left its holy mark imprinted, Whereby that hussy 'twas evinced on, That woman's heart's more hard than whinstone.

Orat ne loci intret limina	Wherefore he prayed to God to hear him,
Immunis unquam ulla fœmina:	And plague all women who came near him;
Hæc est causa cur fœminæ	Which is the reason that to enter
Arcentur ejus limine.	His blessed gates, no she may venture.
Hic miseris refugium,	But here the weakly and the weary
Imprimis refrigerium,	Of the male sex may safely tarry;
Peregrinis hospitium,	Here's entertainment for the stranger,
Spes lapsis, mœstis gaudium.	And rest for all in grief or danger.
Vitam arctat jejunio	His days he shortened much by fasting
Somno brevi, cilicio	By hair-cloth shirts and vigils wasting,
Se dum occultat latebris	But all the more he strove to hide him,
Mundo fit magis celebris.	The more all just men glorified him.
Virtutem fulget titulis,	The cures he wrought must live for ever,
Meditur cœcis oculis,	He healed the palsy and the fever,
Polypo, fico, calculis,	The wen, the wart, the gout, the gravel;
Febribus, morbis singulis.	Made blind men see, and cripples travel.
Fidentem in Fiacrio	So whoso trusts in good Fiacre,
Nullæ lædet corruptio,	Need never fear the undertaker;
Pia cujus devotio	For all his friends, by his devotion,
Purgat ab omni vitio. Amen.	Are made secure of their promotion. Amen.

It would be no difficult matter to multiply examples of legends still more absurd and blasphemous: the lives of St. Mary of Egypt, St. Theresa, St. Catherine of Sienna, and countless others, would supply materials for several volumes; but those we have quoted are sufficient to show the daring spirit of invention displayed by the authors, and the gross delusions practised on their dupes. It is enough to know that such are the fables substituted for the word of God; and that those to whom the Bible is a sealed volume, have its place supplied by the idle, and often mischievous fictions, of which we have given specimens.

Neither can it be said that these fables are not sanctioned by the present rulers of the Papal

Church. The mass-book still contains a service to commemorate the stigmatization of St. Francis; the transportation of the Virgin's cottage from Palestine to Loretto; the transference of St. Catherine's body to Mount Sinai; the ascent of St. Scholastica to heaven, in the form of a dove; and similar fables; and the unrepealed bulls of canonization contain absurdities far surpassing those which we have extracted.

It is evident that most of the legends were devised to exalt celibacy and the austerities practised by the monastics. We find, however, in the ecclesiastical writers many miracles specially worked to support particular doctrines, and particularly the mystery of transubstantiation. Indeed, a miracle appears to have been no unusual resource of a puzzled controversialist. On one occasion the sanctity of the wafer is stated to have been proved by a mule's kneeling to worship it; at another time, a pet-lamb kneels down at the elevation of the host; a spider, which St. Francis d'Ariano accidentally swallowed while receiving the sacrament, came out of his thigh; and when St. Elmo was pining at being too long excluded from a participation in the sacramental mysteries, the holy elements were brought to him by a pigeon. But the principal legends devised for the general exaltation of the Romish Church refer to the exercise of power over the devil. In the south of Ireland nothing is more common than to hear of Satan's appearance in proper person, his

resistance to all the efforts of the Protestant minister, and his prompt obedience to the exorcisms of the parish priest. In general, the localities of the stories are laid at some neighbouring village; yet easy as this renders refutation, it is wonderful to find how generally such a tale is credited. From the archives of the Silesian Church, we find that some German Protestants seem to believe in the exorcising powers of the Romish priests; and from the account of the murder of the child in Wexford, to which we have previously alluded, it would seem that some of the lower orders of Protestants in Ireland are not free from similar superstition. The last miracle formally recognised by the Romish Church was at the canonization of a certain Spaniard named Julian, in the year 1825; it was posted in the church of St. Peter, that Julian took pity on some birds shot by a fowler, and restored them to life, after they had been picked and trussed on a spit!

Next to the legends of miracles rank those of extraordinary austerities; such as, that St. Polycronus always took up a huge tree on his shoulders when he went to pray; that St. Barnadatus shut himself up in a narrow iron cage; that St. Adhelm exposed himself to the most stimulating temptations, and then defied the devil to make him yield; that St. Dorothea never closed her eyes in sleep, and that St. Macarius undertook a penance for sin six months, because he had so far yielded to passion

as to kill a flea. It is unnecessary to dwell upon these, because they are manifestly derived from the habits of the oriental fanatics, and evident exaggerations made without taste or judgment.

The last class of legends connected with the monastic orders relates to the extraordinary homage paid to anchorites, hermits, monks, and friars by persons of high station. There is little to interest the reader in these anecdotes of abasement; we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to one specimen, taken from a very rare book, the "Lyvys of Syntys," —that is, Lives of Saints, printed by the Roxburgh Club, from one of the Arundelian manuscripts. The author, after dwelling on the high birth and station of St. "Maurgeritte pryncys of Hongrie," proceeds to describe her piety and humility:—

> A tokne yt was of grette mekenesse
> In hyr that stood in suych liberte,
> As she dede, and so grete wurthynesse,
> That to oon maystyr Conrade she would be
> Subject, stondyng hys grette poverte.

After some minor proofs of her obedience to the monk Conrad, the author adds,—

> Not long after this, upon a day
> When he her had clepyd to hys preachyng,
> And the Markesesse of Meuence kept hyr away
> That she ne myht kepen his byddyng
> So grevously he bare her absentyng
> That no forgiveness he wolde her hete,
> Tyl to hyr smok voydyd hyr clothyng
> Wyth othyr gylty maydyns she was bete.

The tyranny of Conrad is, at the least, as remarkable as the submission of Margaret; but without

going to the legends, it would be easy to find, in authentic history, instances equally strong, of the influence exercised by such fanatics over their deluded votaries.

We have now done with the legends; we have seen that they were devised chiefly to maintain the spiritual militia with which popery garrisoned the Latin Church, and we but repeat the sentiment of many Romish writers, when we attribute some of the worst corruptions of their church to the influence of the monastic orders. In this respect, therefore as well as others, Romanism and popery must be regarded as a common system, and held mutually responsible for the evils their union has brought upon mankind. The doctrine of infallibility is the very essence of popery, and it has rendered every abuse perpetual, and every error irremediable; of this doctrine the monastic orders are the natural champions, and the Latin Church remains a scandal to Christendom.

THE END.

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